C. E. Bultman

CINCINNATI

Scotch-Irish Volume

COL. WILLIAM CRAWFORD.

At the age of 35 years.

From a likeness in possession of his descendants.

OHIO
Archæological and Historical
PUBLICATIONS.

Volume VI.

THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

COLUMBUS:
Published for the Society
by
Fred. J. Heer.

Entered according to the Act of Congress
in the year 1900

BY E. O. RANDALL

In the office of the Librarian of Congress
at Washington

PREFATORY NOTE.

IN 1885 the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society began the publication of its documents in the form of a Quarterly. These were issued at irregular intervals, however, until sufficient material had accumulated to produce three volumes. In 1896 the Society published, at one issue, a fourth volume and the fifth appeared in August, 1897. The Society has thus produced five volumes, averaging four hundred pages to the volume, of material concerning the history, archæology and biography of the State. These volumes are of the utmost value and interest, containing articles, essays and papers by leading authorities—most of which material was prepared solely for the Society and which does not exist and cannot be obtained outside the works of the Society. The demand for these publications has been so great that the Society has issued second editions of the first three volumes and a third issue will soon have to be made. These books are in constant demand, not only by similar societies and by leading libraries throughout the United States, but by the governments and great society libraries of the old world. Each member of the Society and, by proper courtesy, each member of the Ohio Legislature is entitled, without cost, to these publications as they are issued by the Society.

In the fall of 1897 the Society decided to renew its publications in Quarterly form, and in January, 1898, the first Quarterly of the new series was issued, comprising the first ninety-four pages of this volume (VI). In June another issue in Quarterly form was made, including the remainder of this volume (pages 95 to 441). This last issue in June was regarded as the Quarterlies (Nos. 2 and 3) for April and July, 1898. It was thought advisable to make one issue for these two dates, as the material provided was sufficient for the two numbers and of such form that it could not well be divided into separate Quarterlies. This volume (VI), therefore, herewith issued, comprises the Quarterlies for January, April and July, 1898. Volume VII will begin with the October, 1898, Quarterly.

The contents of this volume speak for themselves. The most extensive original contribution to this volume is an article, entitled "The Pathfinders of Jefferson County," written by Mr. W. H. Hunter, editor of the *Steubenville Gazette*, and one of the most diligent and painstaking students of Ohio history. Mr. Hunter is, moreover, a clear and vigorous writer. This article is followed by a full account of the Centennial Anniversary of Jefferson County, celebrated at Steubenville, in August (24–26) 1897. Credit for gathering the data for this article and the putting of these data in proper historical form is also due to Mr. Hunter. The work done by Mr. Hunter was done *con amore* and was entered upon at the earnest request of the Secretary of the Society. Certainly the task accomplished by Mr. Hunter could not have been done in a more faithful, accurate, scholarly or interesting manner. The Society is deeply indebted to Mr. Hunter for his most valuable services.

The formal report by the Secretary of the proceedings at the annual meeting of the Society, held February 24, 1898, closes Volume VI.

E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary*.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, JUNE 1, 1898.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

Colonel William Crawford. By JAMES H. ANDERSON 1

The History of Popular Education on the Western Reserve. By B. A. HINSDALE 35

Franklinton — An Historical Address. By GENERAL JOHN BEATTY. 59

The Ohio Indians. By COL. E. L. TAYLOR 72

The Pathfinders of Jefferson County. By W. H. HUNTER 95

The Centennial of Jefferson County. Compiled by W. H. HUNTER 314

Stanton Day — Ohio Men and Ideas. By PROF. W. H. VENABLE, LL. D. 318

Edwin M. Stanton. By GEN. DANIEL SICKLES 330

A Tribute to Stanton. By HON. J. H. TRAINER 336

Pioneer Day. Addresses by HON. J. J. GILL, JOHN M. COOK, ESQ., HON. WEBSTER DAVIS 344

Military Day. Address by GEN. S. H. HURST 370

Addenda to the Pathfinders of Jefferson County 384

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Society to the Governor. By E. O. RANDALL, Secretary 407

Addresses Before the Ohio State Archaeological Society —

- GENERAL BRINKERHOFF 430
- PROFESSOR WRIGHT 433
- PROFESSOR ORTON 448
- PRESIDENT CANFIELD 455

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Col. William Crawford .... Frontispiece
Gen. George Washington .... Facing page 4
The Earl of Dunmore .... " " 7
Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair .... " " 7
Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark .... " " 11
Gen. William Irvine .... " " 17
Battle Island—Crawford's Battle Ground .... " " 19
Maj. A. S. DePeyster .... " " 20
Simon Girty .... " " 23
Baron De Rosenthal .... " " 25
The Burning of Crawford at the Stake .... " " 31
Crawford's Monument .... " " 33
Lucas Sullivant .... " " 61
Harrison's Headquarters .... " " 72
Thos. Jefferson—Baron Steuben .... " " 95
Rev. H. C. McCook, D. D. .... " " 109
Fort Steuben .... " " 189
Maj. Ekurius Beatty .... " " 191
Bezaleel Wells .... " " 210
James Ross .... " " 211
James Hunter .... " " 217
Col. John Miller .... " " 270
Ezekiel C. Hawkins .... " " 300
Martha Latimer McCook .... " " 305
Fort Steuben Restored by C. P. Filson .... " " 315
E. M. Stanton .... " " 329

HISTORY

OF THE

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

During the year 1875, an archæological society was formed at General Brinkerhoff's home, in Mansfield, Ohio. This society, through the efforts of General Brinkerhoff, received an appropriation from the State of Ohio of two thousand five hundred dollars, to be expended in making an exhibit at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Prof. John T. Short, of the Ohio State University, was secretary of the society, and it flourished under his secretaryship until his untimely death, when the society became dormant and practically inoperative. Governor Hoadley, who took an active interest in all matters pertaining to the archæology and history of the State, upon his accession to office conferred with Mr. A. A. Graham and suggested a revival of the old society. A meeting for the purpose of carrying into effect this suggestion was called to convene at the Secretary of State's office, on the twelfth day of February, 1885. A number of prominent gentlemen, including leading citizens, scholars and professors from various parts of the State, responded to this call, and decided to extend to all persons in the State interested in the formation of such a society, an invitation to meet on the twelfth day of March following, at Columbus, Ohio. In response to the circulars sent out, some sixty gentlemen from all parts of Ohio, representing the various departments of scholarship, convened on the day specified in the Library Room of the State Capitol. The meeting having been called to order by Hon. S. S. Rickly, the Hon. Allen G. Thurman was made President, and Mr. A. A. Graham elected Secretary. This convention continued in session for two days and resulted in perfecting an organization known as *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society*, which was duly incorporated on the 13th day of March, 1885. The Articles of Incorporation succinctly set forth the purposes and aims of the Society.

The following have served as Presidents of the Society since its organization: Allen G. Thurman, Francis C. Sessions, Rutherford B. Hayes and Roeliff Brinkerhoff.

For thirteen years the Society has faithfully pursued the lines of study and investigation for which it was organized, and has held regular annual meetings at Columbus. In that time it has accumulated a valuable collection of relics and antiquities, now consisting of over 20,000 specimens, mostly archæological in character, but embracing also many papers and articles of historical value. This collection has been catalogued and arranged in cases, and now occupies suitable quarters in the Museum of Orton Hall at the Ohio State University. The library of the Society, which numbers many volumes of considerable value is being constantly augmented by exchanges and otherwise, occupies an alcove in the library of the Ohio State Library.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

Particularly is the Society strong in archæological research. No State in the Union is so rich in archæological resources, consisting of mounds, forts, graves and monuments of prehistoric periods.

This department of the Society, until recently under the direction of Prof. Warren K. Moorehead, is now in charge of Dr. Clarence Loveberry, who is also curator of Ohio State University Museum.

The Society is the custodian of Fort Ancient, the largest, best preserved and most interesting remains of its character now extant. Models of this fort are in some of the leading museums of Europe, and it is often visited and studied by distinguished scholars, not only of other states but of foreign countries.

The Society, through a corps of explorers, is doing splendid and valuable work in examining and making permanent record of the innumerable points of archæological interest in the State. An archæological map is being prepared, which will designate the location of all important mounds, monuments, graves, etc., within Ohio. It is estimated that these places of interest number no less than fifteen thousand.

Articles of Incorporation.

MARCH 13, 1885.

❧

The undersigned citizens of Ohio, having associated themselves together, and desiring to form a corporation not for profit, under the laws of the said State of Ohio, do hereby subscribe and acknowledge the following articles of incorporation:

1. The name of such corporation shall be *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.*

2. Said corporation shall be located and its principal business transacted at the City of Columbus, County of Franklin, and State of Ohio.

3. Said Society is formed for the purpose of promoting a knowledge of Archæology and History, especially of Ohio, by establishing and maintaining a library of books, manuscripts, maps, charts, etc., properly pertaining thereto; a museum of prehistoric relics and natural or other curiosities or specimens of art or nature promotive of the objects of the Association — said library and museum to be open to the public on reasonable terms — and by courses of lectures and publication of books, papers and documents touching the subjects so specified, with power to receive and hold gifts and devises of real and personal estate for the benefit of such Society, and generally to exercise all the powers legally and properly pertaining thereto.

4. Said Society has no capital stock.

The Articles of Incorporation were signed by twenty-eight persons.

Contents of Volumes Issued.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

⁂

Aboriginal History of Butler County, Ohio. J. P. MacLean.
Ancient Earthwork near Oxford, Ohio. R. W. McFarland.
Archæological Exhibit for the Ohio Centennial. M. C. Read.
Archæological Directory of Ohio. A. A. Graham.
Archæological, Historical and Pioneer Collections in Ohio.
Archæology in Ohio, Importance of the Study. G. F. Wright.
Archæology in Ohio, The Relation of the Glacial Period to. G. F. Wright.
Beginning of the Colonial System of the United States, The. I. W. Andrews.
Bibliography of the Earthworks of Ohio. Mrs. Cyrus Thomas.
Blennerhassett. E. O. Randall.
Chase, Salmon P. N. S. Townshend.
Curtis, Henry B. A. R. McIntire.
Earthworks, The Proper Method of Exploring.
Earthworks of Franklin County, Ohio. P. M. Wetmore.
First Circumnavigation of the Earth. B. A. Hinsdale.
Fort Hill, Ohio. W. A. Overman.
Gallagher, William Davis. W. H. Venable.
Historical, Pioneer, and other such societies in Ohio.
Legislation in the Northwest Territory. A. A. Graham.
Letter from a Pioneer Author to a Pioneer Editor.
Literary Periodicals of the Ohio Valley. W. H. Venable.
Mounds and Earthworks of Ohio, Report on the Present Condition of. G. F. Wright.
Ohio Company, Services of, in Defending the United States Frontier from Invasion. W. P. Cutler.
Ordinance of 1787, The. W. P. Cutler.
Origin of the Ohio Company.
Pioneer Days in Central Ohio. Henry B. Curtis.
Pre-glacial Man in Ohio. G. F. Wright.
Pyramids and Buried Cities in the Land of the Montezumas. Fannie B. Ward.
Serpent Mound Saved, The. F. W. Putnam.
Some Early Travelers and Annalists of the Ohio Valley. W. H. Venable.
The Society and the Quarterly. Geo. W. Knight.
The Society: Constitution and By-Laws of; History and Prospects of;

Members of; Notes; Proceedings of, 1885, 1886, 1887; Reports for the year 1887-8.
Western Land Policy of the British Government from 1763 to 1775. B. A. Hinsdale.
Maps and Illustrations.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

Aboriginal Implements, Manufacture and Use of. Gerard Fowke.
Addresses: of Gov. J. B. Foraker, Rev. A. L. Chapin, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Hon. R. B. Hayes, Rev. Henry M. Storrs, Rev. Joseph Tuttle.
Andrews, Israel Ward, D. D., LL. D. W. P. Cutler.
Building of the State. Joseph Cox.
Centennial Celebration at Marietta, April 7, 1888.
Communications relating to same.
Department of History and Archæology in the Ohio Centennial at Columbus, September 4 to October 19, 1888.
Discovery, Right of. B. A. Hinsdale.
Documents, Preservation of — Unpublished Letters from 1775-1782. A. A. Graham.
Documentary History of Ohio. A. A. Graham.
Down South Before the War. W. H. Venable.
First Church Organization in Marietta. Rev. C. E. Dickinson.
Gallagher, William Davis (concluded). W. H. Venable.
German Pioneers. Bernard Peters.
Gray, John, Washington's Last Soldier, Poem. Private Dalzell.
Historic Travels, 1840-1847, Recollections of. Henry Howe.
Hoar, Hon. George F., Oration of.
Loring, Hon. George B., Letters of.
Memorial Structure at Marietta.
Monarchists and Jacobins, A Familiar Talk About. William Henry Smith.
Mound Opening, Detailed Account of. W. K. Moorehead.
Nullification in Ohio. Daniel J. Ryan.
Ohio Boundary, or the Erie War. L. G. Addison.
Popular Errors Regarding Mound Builders and Indians. Gerard Fowke
Relic Department of the Centennial Celebration at Marietta.
Remarks: of Rev. W. B. Arnett, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Hon. Samuel F. Hunt, Rev. I. N. Sturtevant.
Republican Party in Ohio, Early History of. Henry B. Carrington.
The Society: Annual Meetings of, Third and Fourth; Addresses of Prest. F. C. Sessions; Book Notices; Editorial Notes; Rooms of.
Triumph of Liberty, Poem. R. K. Shaw.
Tucker, Hon. Randolph, Oration of.
Western Land Cessions, Important Documents Relating to.
Western Reserve, Sale of. B. A. Hinsdale.

Whipple, Commodore Abraham. David Fisher.
Why is Ohio called the "Buckeye" State? Wm. M. Farrar.
Nineteen Illustrations.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

Bradbury, Horace R., Address of.
Campbell, Governor James E., Address of.
Burnham, Major John, and His Company. E. C. Dawes.
Centennial Anniversary at Gallipolis.
Century and Its Lessons, The. Dr. N. J. Morrison.
Divine Workmanship, Rejoicing in, Sermon. Rev. George W. Lasher, D. D.
Educational Lessons of this Hour. Rev. H. A. Thompson.
Fort Ancient, Description of. Warren K. Moorehead.
French Settlement and Settlers of Gallipolis. John L. Vance.
Judiciary, Laws and Bar of Ohio. David K. Watson.
Jones, J. V., Address of.
Marshall, R. D., Address of.
Methodist Success, Philosophy of, Sermon. Rev. David H. Moore, D. D.
Methodism in Gallipolis, History of. Rev. P. A. Baker.
Migrations and their Lessons, Sermon. Rev. Washington Gladden.
Military Posts, Forts and Battlefields in Ohio. A. A. Graham.
Moravian Massacre, The. Wm. M. Farrar.
Muskingum Valley, Pioneer Physicians of. Dr. E. C. Brush.
Ohio, Description of, in 1788.
Presbyterians of Ohio, Sermon. Rev. S. F. Scovil.
Remember the Days of Old, Sermon. Rev. John Moncure.
Relic Room, Gallipolis, Articles in.
Rio Grande College, History of. Rev. J. M. Davis.
Scioto Company and its Purchase, The. Daniel J. Ryan.
The Society: Annual Meetings, Proceedings of Fifth and Sixth; Act of Incorporation of; Synopsis of By-Laws of; Trustees, Officers and Members of; Reports of Officers of; Trustees of, Meeting.
Eighteen Maps and Illustrations.

CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

The Beginning of the Ohio Company and the Scioto Purchase. Major E. C. Dawes.
An Early Abolition Colony and Its Founder. A. A. Graham.
The Underground Railroad in Ohio. Prof. W. H. Siebert.
Boundary Line Between Ohio and Virginia. Introductory.
Argument Concerning Boundary Line Between Ohio and Virginia. Samuel F. Vinton.

Boundary Line Between Ohio and Indiana, and Between Ohio and Michigan. Special reports of Dr. T. C. Mendenhall and A. A. Graham.
The Ohio-Michigan Boundary Line Dispute. T. B. Galloway.
Samuel Finley Vinton. Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren.
Samuel Galloway. Washington Gladden.
Leo Lesquereux. Dr. Edward Orton.
Francis Charles Sessions. Washington Gladden.
Henry Howe, the Historian. Joseph P. Smith.
Rutherford Birchard Hayes. Washington Gladden.
A Description of Fort Ancient. Warren King Moorehead.
The Society: Minutes of the Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Annual Meetings of; Annual Reports of; Roll of Honorary and Life Members of; Sketches of Life Members of.
Maps and illustrations.

CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

1. From Charter to Constitution. Being a collection of Public Documents pertaining to the Territory of the Northwest and the State of Ohio, from the Charters of James I., to and including the First Constitution of Ohio, and the State Papers relating to its admission into the Union, showing thereby the Historical Chain of Title of said State from 1606 to 1803. D. J. Ryan.
2. Work of the Society for the year 1896 in Archæological Research and Exploration. W. K. Moorehead.
3. Report of Proceedings of Society for 1895 and 1896. E. O. Randall.
4. The Evolution of Ohio Counties. J. F. Laning.
   Six maps and forty-nine illustrations.

OHIO
Archaeological and Historical
PUBLICATIONS.

COLONEL WILLIAM CRAWFORD.[1]

BY JAMES H. ANDERSON.

UPPER SANDUSKY, OHIO, May 6, 1896.

Hon. J. H. Anderson, Columbus, Ohio,

DEAR JUDGE: I am directed by the officers of the Wyandot County Pioneer Association to extend you an invitation to deliver an address at the picnic to be held at Crawford, Thursday, June 11, on the occasion of the 114th anniversary of the burning of Colonel William Crawford. Hoping to receive a favorable answer, so that you can be duly mentioned in future notices and advertisements, I beg to remain,

Most respectfully,
E. N. HALBEDEL, *Secretary.*

---

[1] This address was delivered before five or six thousand people, on the banks of the Tymochtee, near Crawford's monument, in Crawford township, Wyandot county, Ohio. Before the formation of Wyandot county, Crawford township was in Crawford county. Crawford was burnt by the Delaware Indians, June 11, 1782, where the monument now stands, which is about seven miles north-west of Upper Sandusky, near Crawford Station, and the town of Crawfordsville. The monument bears this inscription: "In memory of Colonel Crawford, who was burnt by the Indians, in this valley, June 11, A. D. 1782." On the base are these words: "Erected by the Pioneer Association of Wyandot County, August 3, 1877."

THE ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Wyandot County Pioneer Association, and Fellow Citizens:

In the year 1749, when George Washington was surveying the immense landed estate of his friend Lord Fairfax, he made the acquaintance of William Crawford, whose home and birthplace was in Orange county,[2] Virginia, the most northern portion of the valley.[3] This rich and romantic region had not long been occupied by white men when William Crawford came upon the scene in 1732, and the customs of the inhabitants were simple and primitive. When first seen by Washington, William Crawford was a youth of fine, manly presence, above six feet in height, and in point of strength and activity a very athlete. While surveying in the neighborhood of the Crawford homestead, which became the headquarters of Washington, a friendship[4] sprang up between these two noble minded young men that lasted till the tragic end came. They were near the same age, reared in the country, sons of widows; and in size, strength, activity, personal qualities and characteristics were not unlike. Crawford now accompanied Washington on his surveying tours, and thus acquired the art of surveying which he thenceforth pursued, along with farming, till stern war demanded his whole time, energies and resources.

In 1755 he forsook surveying, and farming, to face the common enemy of the settlement—the Indian. He accepted a commission as ensign, and with Washington fought under Braddock, in the bloody and disastrous engagement with the French and Indians July 9, 1755, near Fort Du Quesne. And the gallantry of Ensign Crawford was such that he was made a lieutenant the next year. Lieutenant Crawford became noted for bravery, activity, and discretion in the wars against the Indians, and French and Indians. From 1755 to 1758 he was employed on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia in garrison duty, leading scouting parties, and in other ways against the Indians, where, by dear experience, he was taught the most effective way to fight and subdue savages. It having been decided in 1758 to make another attempt to reduce Fort Du Quesne, Washington, who was now Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia troops, secured for Crawford a commission as captain, who thereupon recruited a full company of hardy frontiersmen to serve under "his friend and benefactor."[5] And one of the privates in Crawford's company afterwards became famous in the Revolutionary war as Major General Daniel Morgan.[6] Such were the men who decided to besiege and take Fort Du Quesne. The army met with many misadventures and difficulties on the way, which retarded its progress, but on the 25th of November, 1758, the French[7] having recently withdrawn from the fort and sailed down the Ohio, it was taken possession of by the troops under Washington. After the occupancy of the post, Crawford continued in the service of Virginia three years longer, when he withdrew from army life, sought his old home in the valley, and again took up the double occupation of farmer and surveyor.

---

[2] The county of Frederick, afterwards formed, included Crawford's birth-place. It is now in the county of Berkeley.

[3] The Shenandoah valley, or Valley of Virginia.

[4] Weems' Life of Washington, pp. 28, 29.

Captain Crawford's long military service having made him familiar with the rich region of southwestern Pennsylvania, then supposed to be a part of Virginia, he decided to make it his home. So in 1765[8] he built a cabin on Braddock's road, at Stewart's Crossings, about 40 miles from Pittsburg, on the Youghiogheny river, in what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania. It was then in Cumberland, later in Bedford, afterwards in Westmoreland and finally in Fayette. In 1765 it was a "howling wilderness" in almost every direction. As soon as his cabin was ready for occupancy[9] he commenced trading with the Indians, and surveying lands for speculators and settlers, and in two years a large part of his farm, probably with the assistance of his slaves, was cleared.

---

[5] Weems' Life of Washington, p. 29.

[6] Hall's Romance of Western History, Chap. VII, p. 121.

[7] As to the designs of France, see Bouquet's Expedition. Cincinnati, 1868, p. 11.

[8] Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 114.

[9] His wife and three children joined him in the Spring of 1766.

Crawford's place of 376 acres was better known than any other west of the mountains, for his hospitality and big hearted generosity knew no bounds.[10] In this log cabin, remote from the refinements of civilization, Crawford was not forgotten by Washington, nor did they neglect to write to each other, as a handsome volume entitled The Washington-Crawford Letters, by C. W. Butterfield, sufficiently attests. The first letter by Washington is dated September 21, 1767; the last by Crawford is dated May 23, 1781, a few months before his awful death. Other letters no doubt passed between these true friends and great men, that were lost or destroyed. Crawford selected and surveyed for Washington[11] on and near the Youghiogheny, Great Kanawha, and Ohio rivers, a great deal of land, forty or fifty thousand acres, and these lands in the language of Washington were "the first choice of," and "the cream of the country."[12] He also selected and surveyed lands for Samuel and John, brothers of George Washington, and for their cousin Lund Washington. Some of the earliest surveys in Brooke, Ohio, and Marshall counties, Virginia, were made by Captain Crawford.[13]

On the 13th of October, 1770, George Washington, paid his friend a visit, and his welcome was most hearty and cordial. Crawford's lonely cabin in the wilds of the forest was hospitality itself. Both were now in the prime of life, thirty-eight years old,

---

[10] "He was a man of good judgment, singular good nature, and great humanity; and remarkable for his hospitality — few strangers coming to the western country and not spending some days at the crossing of the Youghiogheny, where he lived." Brackenridge in the Knight and Slover pamphlet, 1783, p. 16. Brackenridge was a brilliant man, a writer of books, and for fifteen years judge of the supreme court of Pennsylvania. Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 129.

[11] "If you will be at the trouble of seeking out the lands," wrote Washington, from Mt. Vernon, September 21, 1767, "I will take upon me the part of securing them as soon as there is a possibility of doing it, and will moreover be at the cost and charges of surveying and patenting the same. You shall then have such a reasonable proportion of the whole as we may fix upon at our first meeting." Sparks' Writings of Washington II. p. 348. See Crawford's answer, Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 8.

[12] Washington to Neville, June 16, 1794.

[13] De Hass' His. Ind. Wars, W. Va., p. 373.

GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

From a fine steel plate engraxing by A. Doggett, after the celebrated original oil painting by Colonel J. Trumbull.

of robust health, and as old and intimate friends, greatly enjoyed each others society. They rode over the fertile Washington lands, and inspected the coal mines,[14] stone quarries, and mill seats thereon; they looked at the mighty forest trees, at the noble navigable rivers, and then visited budding Pittsburg, which boasted twenty log cabins occupied by Indian traders, and a post called Fort Pitt, garrisoned by two companies of soldiers.

On the 20th of October, Washington and Crawford started down the Ohio in a large canoe, scanning the country with a view to locating lands they were entitled to as officers in the French and Indian wars. They often left the boat to get a better view of the land.[15] When they reached the mouth of the Great Kanawha,[16] they soon turned about and started for Pittsburg again.[17] In what is now Meigs county, Ohio, they left their canoe, and Washington wrote in his journal: "Walked across the neck on foot with Captain Crawford,—the distance according to our walking about eight miles."[18] They entered the canoe again and continued on to Mingo Bottom, now in Jefferson county, Ohio, two miles and a half below Steubenville, where they remained three days. Thus George Washington, the truest and noblest character of whom we have any account, accompanied by his good and faithful friend William Crawford, visited the soil of our own Ohio 126 years ago. On the 25th of November, Washington bade adieu to the Crawfords and started through the forests and over the mountains for his Potomac home—Mt. Vernon—where he arrived December 1, 1770, having been absent nine weeks and a day.[19] When these warm friends and brave men parted on the banks of the Youghiogheny, little they suspected the fortune, good or evil, in store for them, that one would rise to the highest distinction, winning unfading laurels, and imperishable glory, and the other, far from friends, at the hands of savages, after a life of usefulness and honor, suffer a most barbarous, and indescribably cruel, and awful death.

---

[14] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 16.

[15] See daily journal or diary kept by Washington.

[16] October 31st. See Washington diary.

[17] November 4th. See same.

[18] November 5th. See same.

[19] Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. II, pp. 516, 534.

In 1770, Crawford was appointed one of the justices for Cumberland county. It was on the 11th of March, 1771, that William Crawford, Arthur St. Clair, and other men of prominence were appointed by Governor Penn, justices of the peace for Bedford county.[20] They were *ex-officio* judges of the county courts. When Westmoreland was formed, Crawford was appointed a justice for that county, and became the president judge of the courts.[21] It was the intention of Washington and Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, together to visit Crawford this year (1773); but the death of Miss Custis, Washington's stepdaughter, on June 19, 1773, prevented the journey, and kept him at home. In a letter to the Earl of Dunmore, dated April 13, 1773, Washington, writing from Mt. Vernon, said: "I beg the favor of your lordship to inform me as nearly as you can of the precise time you will do me the honor of calling here, that I may get ready accordingly, and give notice of it to Mr. Crawford, * * * that he may be disengaged when we get to his house."[22] While Washington could not go at that time for the reason given, Lord Dunmore made the journey during the summer, spending considerable time at Crawford's place, and at Pittsburg.[23] Thus Crawford was visited in his distant, humble home, by the two most distinguished men then living in America. Washington again wrote to Crawford—this time on the 25th of September, 1773—touching the location of lands, "Down the Ohio, below the mouth of the Scioto," to which both were entitled "Under a proclamation of the year 1763." "By Mr. Leet I informed you," continued Washington, "of the unhappy cause

---

[20] Bedford county, as then organized, was taken from Cumberland, March 9, 1771.

[21] Westmoreland was taken from Bedford, February 26, 1773. See Washington-Irvine Corr. p. 114.

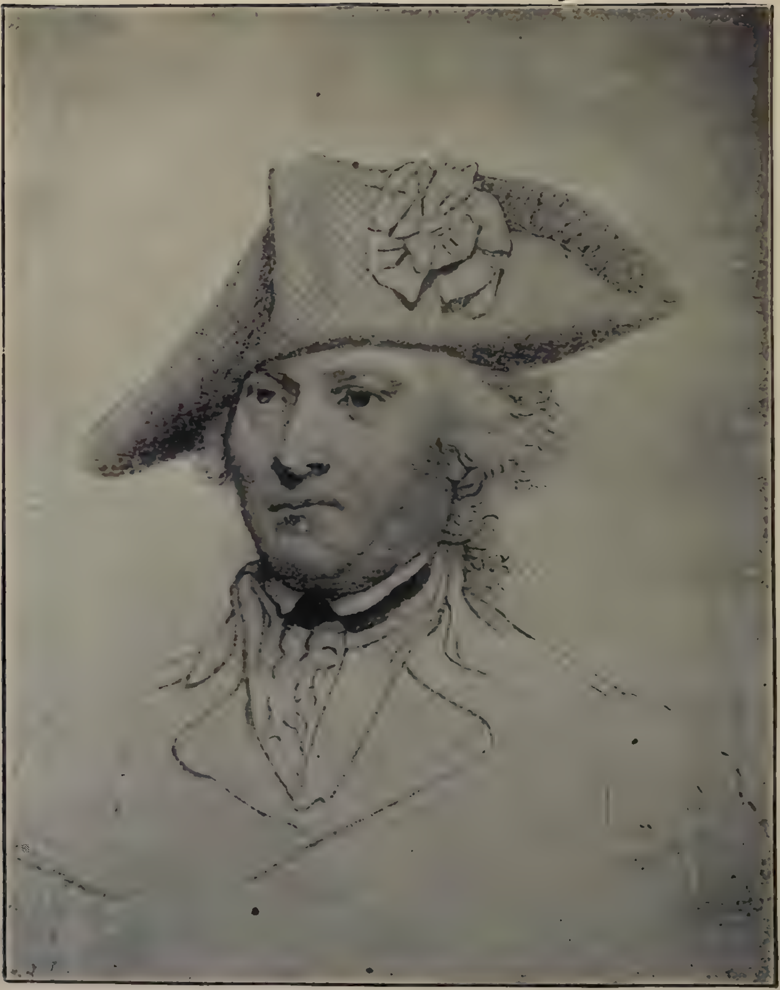
[22] Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. II, p. 373.

[23] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 29. "In 1773, Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, paid a visit to Crawford at his house upon the Youghiogheny, the occasion being turned to profitable account by both parties." Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 115.

THE EARL OF DUNMORE.

The last Colonial Governor of Virginia.

From a very fine portrait in the State Library Gallery at Richmond, Va.



MAJ. GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Fac simile of a pencil drawing from life by Col. J. Trumbull.
(See Vol. I, The St. Clair Papers.)

which prevented my going out this fall. But I hope nothing will prevent my seeing you in that country in the spring. The precise time it is not in my power to fix; but I should be glad if you would let me know how soon it may be attended with safety, * * * after which I will fix upon a time to be at your house." But Washington never visited Crawford at his home on the Youghiogheny again, for the mutterings of the coming Revolution could already be heard.

Crawford was by no means idle during Dunmore's war. In the month of May, 1774, having received a captain's commission from the Governor of Virginia, he raised a company without delay and set out for Fort Pitt.[24] "You could not do better," was Lord Dunmore's dispatch of the 20th of June to the officer in command at Fort Pitt, "than send Captain William Crawford with what men you can spare to join him, to co-operate with Colonel Lewis, or to strike a blow himself, if he thinks he can do it with safety. I know him to be prudent, active and resolute." Crawford, meantime having received a major's commission from Lord Dunmore, moved at the head of five hundred men down the Ohio to attack the Shawanese.[25]

On September 20, 1774, he wrote Washington, "I am this day to set out with the first division for the mouth of Hockhocking, and there to erect a post on your Bottom where the whole of the troops are to rendezvous." Crawford was in command of one division of the Virginia army, and Dunmore the other, at the place of rendezvous on the Washington Bottom,[26] and later the army crossed the river to the Indian, or Ohio side, and built Fort Gower.[27]

A treaty of peace having been signed, the war against the Indians ended in November, and Crawford returned home. The people were pleased with the treaty, and with the results of the campaign.[28] Major Crawford had destroyed two Mingo villages (within the limits of the present county of Franklin, Ohio), taken fourteen prisoners, rescued several white captives, and the "plunder" carried away had been sold for four hundred pounds sterling, besides what was returned to a Mohawk Indian who was present.[29] His services at Wheeling where he built a fort[30]—and elsewhere, were highly commended. On November 14, 1774, Crawford in a letter to Washington said: "I yesterday returned from our late expedition against the Shawanese, and I think we may with propriety say we have had great success, as we made them sensible of their villainy and weakness, and I hope made peace with them on such a footing as will be lasting."

---

[24] "I am now setting out for Fort Pitt at the head of one hundred men," wrote Crawford to Washington, May 8, 1774. Washington — Crawford Letters, p. 49. Fort Pitt was changed to Fort Dunmore.

[25] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 52.

[26] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 53.

[27] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 53.

Crawford's associate on the bench, Arthur St. Clair, famous in later years as an officer of the Revolution, as President of Congress, as Governor of the Northwest Territory, and for his disastrous defeat by the Indians in 1791, took exception to Crawford's course as in conflict with the peace policy of Penn, and thereupon on the 22d of July wrote Governor Penn as follows: "Captain Crawford, the president of our court, seems to be the most active Virginia officer in their service. He is now down the river at the head of a number of men, which is his second expedition. How is it possible," asked St. Clair, "for a man to serve two colonies in direct antagonism to each other at the same time?" This was Crawford's offence: he accepted a commission to fight the Indians from the Governor of Virginia, and thought his native State was right respecting the country about the head waters of the Ohio, which had been a subject of dispute for years. As he was an active supporter early in 1775 of the Virginia contention touching the boundary line between that State and Pennsylvania, he was removed the same year from office in Westmoreland county ("superceded," was the word used), and lost popularity among some of his new neighbors.[31]

---

[28] For the terms of the treaty see Crawford's letter of Nov. 14, 1774, to Washington. It was entered into at Camp Charlotte, in what is now Pickaway Co., O., whither the army under Dunmore had marched from Fort Gower. Hardby were the Shawanese villages.

[29] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 56.

[30] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 9, of biog. sketch, also p. 96. It was first called Fort Fincastle; then Fort Henry.

The county of Yohogania, Virginia, was created in November, 1776. Of this county Crawford was a justice several years, and a surveyor by appointment until it ceased to exist.[32] But he was also otherwise busily employed as will be seen. It was on the 16th of May, 1775, that the Scotch-Irish,[33] and other residents of the western part of Pennsylvania, assembled at Pittsburg, to give utterance to their views concerning the encroachments of Great Britain. Crawford's presence was soon felt, and his bold utterances in behalf of the American colonies found an echo in every heart. A committee of defence was agreed upon of which Crawford was a conspicuous member.

After the battle of Lexington, Crawford tendered his services to the Council of Safety at Philadelphia, but owing to the peace policy of Governor Penn, and his associates, and possibly the boundary dispute, they were not accepted. Virginia, his native State, glad to accept the services of this veteran warrior, authorized him to raise a regiment. His influence and name on the frontier were such that he recruited a full regiment in a short time. On the 12th of January, 1776, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Fifth Virginia.[34] By act of Congress he was appointed on the 11th of October following, colonel of the Seventh Regiment of the Virginia Battalions, his commission to be dated August 14th. He took part during the year in battles and skirmishes on Long Island, and the remarkable retreat through New Jersey. One of the heroes that crossed the Delaware with Washington on Christmas day, he fought at Trenton the next, and at Princeton on the 3d of January, 1777. In August Crawford was with Washington near Philadelphia, using all his powers in the effort to keep the British out of that city; and his services later on, at the head of a detachment of three hundred light armed men acting as scouts, were of the highest value, and so regarded by Washington. "He rendered efficient service," and "took an active and prominent part" in the battle of Brandywine,[35] where he "came near being captured;" and afterwards fought with his usual bravery at Germantown. Washington received a letter from General Reed, saying that Crawford, then with him, was "a very good officer."[36]

---

[31] Crawford's Expedition against Sandusky, p. 101.

[32] Same work, p. 102.

[33] While the Scotch-Irish are self-reliant, industrious, and generally honest, it must be confessed that many of the inhuman monsters who encouraged, egged on, and led the savages in their hellish atrocities along the border, were like the three Girtys, Elliott, McKee, and Caldwell of that race.

[34] Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 116.

In November, 1777, the Congress "Resolved, that General Washington be requested to send Colonel William Crawford to Pittsburg to take command under Brigadier General Hand, of the Continental troops and militia in the Western Department." Without delay Crawford left for York, Pennsylvania, where the Congress was then sitting, probably to confer with the members, and receive instructions, but was soon on his way towards his Western home, and the scene of his labors. He had won the confidence and regard of his regiment; and even Washington's in a greater degree than ever as "a brave and active officer."

The officers of his old regiment, the Seventh Virginia, sent Colonel Crawford a most complimentary and affectionate address, to which he responded in a well expressed, patriotic, feeling letter.[37] He had proved himself a most capable soldier in the east,

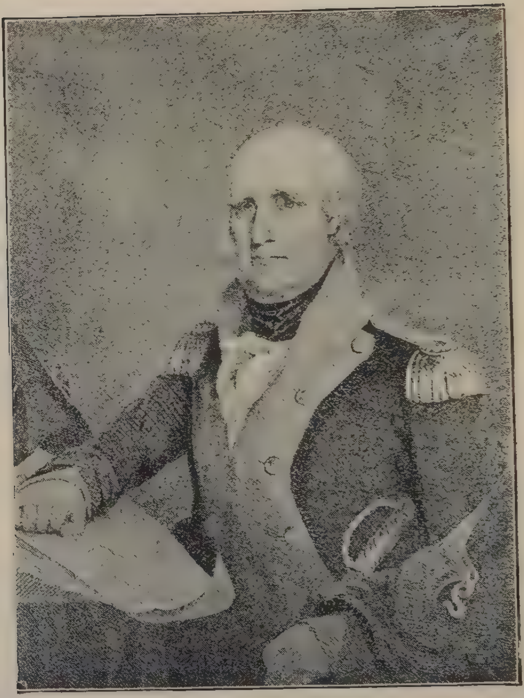
---

[35] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. X.

[36] Same, p. X.

[37] *Address of the Officers of the Seventh Virginia Regiment to Colonel William Crawford.*

We beg leave to take this method of expressing our sense of the warmest attachment to you, and at the same time our sorrow in the loss of a commander who has always been influenced by motives that deservedly gain the unfeigned esteem and respect of all those who have the honor of serving under him. Both officers and soldiers retain the strongest remembrance of the regard and affection you have ever discovered towards them; but as we are all well assured that you have the best interests of your country in view, we should not regret however sensibly we may feel the loss, that you have chosen another field for the display of your military talents. Permit us therefore to express our most cordial wish that you may find a regiment no less attached to you than the Seventh, and that your services may ever be productive of benefit to your country and honor to yourself.



GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

From a likeness in Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, Vol. I, page 386.
Original portrait in Louisville, Ky.

fighting the well-disciplined troops of the enemy, but it was in the backwoods that he had risen superior to his surroundings, and his military genius had shown with undimmed luster. The members of Congress as well as Washington, fully realized that few men possessed Crawford's experience or knowledge of the wiles and strategy of the red men, who were now unusually bold and daring. In the fall of 1777, and in the spring of 1778, these foes were more dangerous and merciless than ever, scalping parties, infesting and terrorizing the entire border. In the spring of 1778, about sixteen miles above Fort Pitt on the Allegheny river, Colonel Crawford superintended the erection of a stockade fort, which by direction of General McIntosh was called Fort Crawford. And during this year, and from time to time the two subsequent years, Crawford was in command at this post.[38]

General George Rogers Clark of Virginia, a true military genius, was in Dunmore's war where he became a warm friend of Crawford. General Clark, recognizing and appreciating Crawford's talents, invited him early in 1778 to join his secret military expedition against the British posts between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, but Crawford, then otherwise engaged, reluctantly declined. But he assisted the general in many ways, particularly in securing recruits along the frontier fit for such

---

COLONEL CRAWFORD'S ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN: Your very affectionate and polite address demands my warmest acknowledgments, which I beg leave to return to you in the strongest terms of gratitude and affection. Be assured the officers of the Seventh regiment will ever share my tender regard; and I have great hopes that they will continue to merit the highest esteem of their insulted and injured country. My kind wishes will ever attend the lowest soldier in the regiment.

My own abilities are small, but I have this serious satisfaction, — that they have been and shall continue to be exerted to the utmost in defense of American liberty, justice, and the rights of humanity.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,
Your most humble servant,
W. CRAWFORD.

[38] In May 1778 he took command of the new Virginia regiment just raised under General McIntosh. Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky, p. 106.

dangerous service. The expedition, as every one knows, was a great success; the British posts in the Illinois country were all taken; and the princely domain between the Ohio and Mississippi saved to our nation.[39]

In contemplation of an early movement against Detroit, Colonel Crawford and General McIntosh erected in the fall of 1778, two forts—McIntosh and Laurens.[40] The money, however, to properly equip an invading force sufficiently strong to capture a place and post like Detroit was wanting, and the project was for the time abandoned.

In September, 1778, Colonel Crawford's command included the troops then at Fort Pitt, from Yohogania, Monongalia and Ohio counties, Virginia, and on the 8th of October he was directed to form the militia into a brigade. On the 27th of October, he was at Fort McIntosh, where he received orders to unite the Virginia troops from Berkeley and Augusta counties, into one corps and those from Hampshire and Rockingham into another, to be known as the Third and Fourth Regiments of his brigade. From these he was instructed "to select a company of officers and men for light infantry."

Fort Laurens,[41] the first fort built in what is now the State of Ohio, was often visited by Crawford, on official business, and going and returning he made several narrow escapes. The vicinity was haunted by Indians who hardly ever spared the life of a captive.[42] When it was decided in the month of August, 1779, to abandon forts McIntosh and Laurens, Indian depredations greatly increased; the merciless savages grew bolder day by day. Hence on several occasions, at the head of a small force, Crawford invaded their country, and his incursions were usually successful, for after each the Indians were less aggressive. We may well believe his services were highly valued by the poor exposed settlers, for there were only a few men whose public spirit, courage and tact fitted them for such enterprises, and these were regarded by the defenseless borderers, as the very saviors of the land.

---

[39] Clark's Campaign, Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co., 1869, p. 1.

[40] Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 71. "Under Brigadier General McIntosh, who succeeded General Hand, in August 1778, at Pittsburg, Crawford took command of the militia of the western counties of Virginia, and had in charge the building of Fort McIntosh, at what is now Beaver, in Beaver Co., Pa. He marched with that officer into the Indian country in November, in command of a brigade, and was present at the building in December, of Fort Laurens, upon the west bank of the Tuscarawas river, in what is now Tuscarawas Co., Ohio. Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 116.

[41] Washington-Crawford Letters p. 71.

[42] Crawford's Expedition, p. 110.

In the year 1780, Crawford visited the American Congress, and implored that august body to give the frontier better protection, and to make larger appropriations for that purpose. His earnest appeals had a salutary effect, for the necessary war material and supplies were "soon afterward forwarded to Fort Pitt, and other Western posts."[43] After returning home, and during that year, Crawford again on several occasions led small bands in pursuit of marauding savages.

His great desire, however, had long been to equip and lead an expedition against Detroit, or Sandusky, for from these points the Indians came who wrought death and destruction along the frontier. Upper Sandusky,[44] "the grand rallying point for the British Indians before starting for the border," was on the great highway between the north and the south. The Sandusky river was the water-way, and highway of travel, between Canada and the Mississippi. From time out of mind the Sandusky, Scioto, and Ohio rivers, had been the water-route between Detroit and the south, for warlike Indians, then for French explorers and soldiers, and later for the British. They came in boats from Detroit across the lake to the head of the Sandusky Bay, or to Lower Sandusky, now Fremont. William Walker, an intelligent Indian chief, whom many of you knew very well, wrote as follows: "Ascending the Sandusky river to the mouth of the west branch, known as the Little Sandusky, in a bark or light wooden canoe, you could in a good stage of water ascend that tributary four or five miles further. Thence east across to the Little Scioto is a distance of about four miles. This was the portage."[45] "This place," writes Col. James Smith, in his "Life and Travels," who was here in 1757, "is in the plains between a creek that empties into Sandusky, and one that runs into Scioto; and at the time of high water, or in the spring season, there is but about one-half mile of portage, and that very level, and clear of rocks, timber and stones."[46] As the portage was short and trifling, Indians and others as before stated, going south and returning, made use of these streams. Hence Crawford felt that a river town so prominent and obnoxious as Upper Sandusky, which was a sort of *entrepot*, should be wiped out, for here the Indian allies of Great Britain received annuities[47] and other allowances, and their supplies[48] before starting for the settlements. The Wyandot or Half King's town, or capital, was really the most important place in the Indian country; and in Crawford's opinion the peace and safety of the frontier depended on its destruction, and the crushing defeat and conquest of the Sandusky Indians. This was also the opinion of General Irvine, commandant at Fort Pitt.[49]

---

[43] Crawford's Expedition, p. 111.

[44] History of Wyandot county, Ohio, p. 241.

At a meeting of the people of Westmoreland county, held on the 18th of June, 1781, to devise ways and means for the defense of the frontier, Crawford's presence had an inspiring effect, and his words carried great weight. It was there decided to render active and efficient aid to Gen. Clark's expedition against Detroit. Thereupon Col. Crawford, actively co-operated with Col. Lochry,[50] and General Clark, in trying to raise and equip an army to march against Detroit. He also did all in his power to aid and strengthen the effort Colonel Gibson, the officer then in command at Fort Pitt, was making, to organize a sufficient force to go against Sandusky, or Upper Sandusky as it was commonly called. But both schemes or projects fell through, not for want of men, or martial spirit, but lack of means,—the sinews of war. Of one of these expeditions it was intended that Crawford should be a leading officer; and the attempt he made to set Colonel Gibson's on foot, "was his last effort as an officer on the continental establishment." These two projects so dear to his heart, he thought the only means of stopping the inroads of the savage and preventing further barbarities.[51]

---

[45] Communication to C. W. Butterfield, 1872.

[46] An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith. Lexington, Ky., 1799, p. 86.

[47] History of Wyandot county, Ohio, p. 241.

[48] Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky, p. 165.

[49] In General Irvine's instructions to Col. Crawford, dated Fort Pitt, May 14, 1782, he says: "The object of your command is to destroy with fire and sword, if practicable, the Indian town and settlements at Sandusky, by which we hope to give ease and safety to the inhabitants of this country." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 118.)

[50] Col. Lochry and all his brave men, about one hundred and forty, were either killed or captured near the mouth of the Miami, on their way to join Gen. Clark's expedition. (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 154, 229.)

But now, desperate as our affairs seemed in the west, the star of hope had risen in the east. The power of England was broken. The battle of Yorktown had been fought—October 19, 1781—peace between the colonies and mother country was at hand,[52] and the old warrior thought the time propitious to lay aside the sword, and return to the bosom of his family. As a soldier of the Revolution, Crawford had now served his country six years, and sought retirement. Though placed on the retired list, he would still hold his commission, and stand ready to respond to the calls of his country whenever and wherever his services might really be needed. The exposed condition of the frontier settlements was ever before him, nor could he turn a deaf ear to the cries of the lonely settlers.

The year 1782 is dawning. Crawford, now fifty years old, in fairly vigorous health, is at home on the Youghiogheny, happy in the belief that here he can remain henceforth, free from war's tumults and alarms. In his cabin by the river he loved to tell his children, grand children and others—for all sought his company—the story of his eventful life. He now longed for peace, but the stars and signs in the western firmament were lurid and warlike. The cruel and merciless Indian was still on the warpath. While American arms were triumphant in the east, the Western frontier was still the witness and theater of horrible savage barbarities. The tomahawk and scalping knife were doing their bloody work. Settlers daily fell victims, houses and barns went up in flames, fields were laid waste, and stock stolen or slain. A state or terror reigned along the Pennsylvania and Virginia border. The despairing, almost phrensied settlers were calling aloud for help. Is it surprising then that Crawford, though in retirement, found himself taking a deep interest in another proposed expedition against Sandusky, and the Sandusky Indians? His advice was sought and freely given. "Not less," said he, "than four hundred men should venture so far into the enemy's country."[53] As Crawford had long favored an advance against the Sandusky Indians, the settlers naturally turned to him as the particular person to lead it. This he declined; there were others equally capable, and he had done his share. His only son, John, had decided to enlist, so had his distinguished son-in-law, Major William Harrison, of the great Virginia family of that name. His nephew, William Crawford, had already volunteered.

---

[51] Col. James Marshal, the commandant at Fort McIntosh, wrote to Gen. Irvine on the 2d of April, 1782, as follows: "This is most certain that unless an expedition be carried against some of the principal Indian towns early this summer, this country must unavoidably suffer." On the 4th of April he wrote: "The people in general on the frontiers are waiting with anxious expectation to know whether an expedition can be carried against Upper Sandusky early this spring or not." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 285, 286.)

[52] The surrender of Lord Cornwallis was an assurance to Crawford that the struggle would soon end.

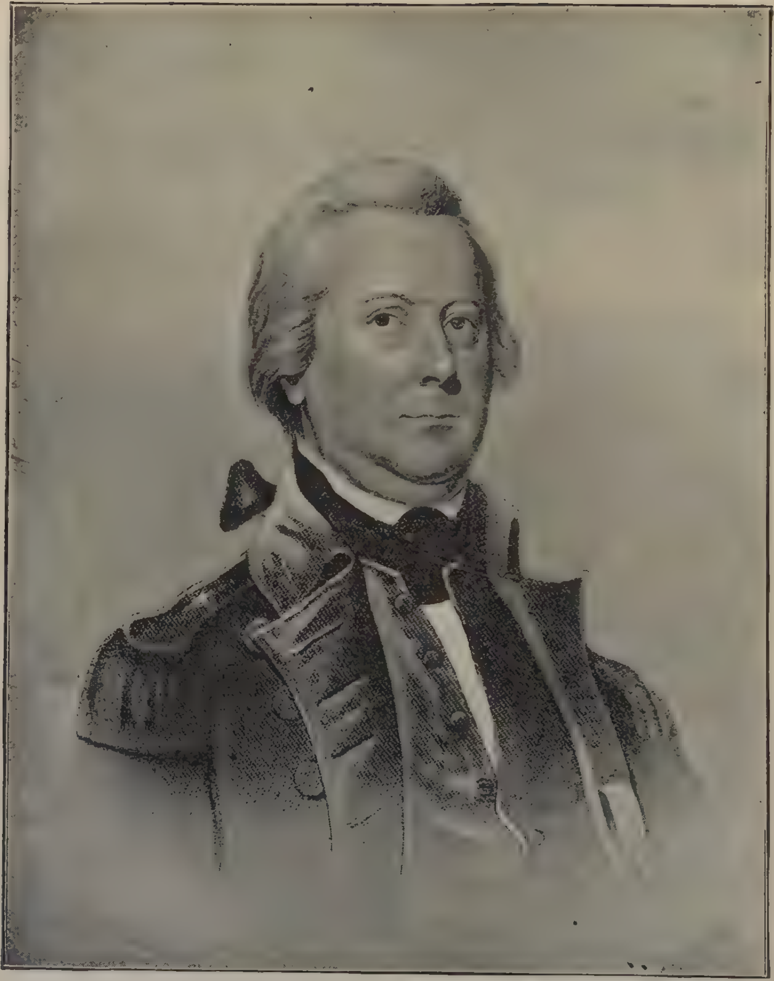
John Crawford was "A young man greatly and deservedly esteemed as a soldier and citizen,"[54] wrote the historian Brackenenridge in 1782. Sarah, the eldest daughter of Colonel Crawford, wooed and won by the gallant and scholarly Harrison, was the most charming and beautiful young woman[55] in western Pennsylvania, if tradition and history are to be relied on. As Crawford still held his commission as a colonel in the regular army, and as Irvine, the officer in command of the Western Department, desired him to lead the expedition, should he refuse? That was the question. Finally, yielding to the entreaties of General

---

[53] Sparks' Corr. Amer. Rev. vol. 11, p. 509.

[54] Slover's Narrative (ed. of 1783), p. 23, note.

[55] Robert A. Sherrard to Butterfield: 1872.



GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.

After a portrait by Robert Edge Pine, an eminent English artist, who painted it in New York in 1784, when Gen. Irvine was a member of Congress.

Irvine, at Fort Pitt, and his beloved son, son-in-law, and nephew, and no doubt other relatives, he reluctantly consented to accept the command if chosen by the volunteers.

Mingo Bottom, two and a half miles below the Steubenville of to-day was agreed upon as the place of rendezvous. Crawford[56] now began in earnest to get ready for the long, perilous march. On the 14th of May, 1782, in consideration of love and affection, he duly conveyed to his son-in-law, William Harrison, a farm near his own on the Youghiogheny. On the 16th he made his last will and testament, giving to his wife during life, the home farm, and three slaves, Dick, Daniel and Betty, and all his personal property except a slave boy named Martin. He gave his son John the aforesaid boy Martin, and five hundred acres of land, and after his wife's death the home farm, and the three slaves, Dick, Daniel and Betty. He gave to each of his grand children, Moses and Richard, sons of John Crawford, four hundred acres, and to his grand daughter Anne four hundred acres. He made bequests to Anne Connell, and her four children: all the rest of his estate to be divided equally between his three children.[57]

On Saturday, the 18th, he bade adieu to his weeping wife, daughters, grand children, and others, and then set out on horseback for Mingo Bottom, going by way of Fort Pitt for instructions.[58] His son, son-in-law, and nephew had already started. Crawford needing more officers, General Irvine detailed two, then on duty at the fort, to accompany him, namely, Lieutenant Rose as aide-de-camp, and Dr. Knight as surgeon. On the 21st General Irvine wrote to Washington: "I have taken some pains to get Colonel Crawford appointed to command, and hope he will be. He left me yesterday on his way down to the place of rendezvous. He does not wish to go with a smaller number than four hundred."[59]

---

[56] Crawford was looked upon as "one of the first gentlemen in the West." History of the Girtys, p. 175.

[57] Crawford's will is of record in Westmoreland county. It was proved Sept 10, 1782, and recorded Dec. 29, 1819.

[58] For the "instructions" see Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 118.

[59] Sparks' Corr. Amer. Rev. II. p. 509.

At Mingo Bottom, Colonel Crawford was duly elected to command the expedition. David Williamson was made field major, and second in command; Thomas Gaddis, field major, and third in command; John McClelland, field major, and fourth in command; Major Brinton, field major, and fifth in command, Daniel Leet, brigade major; Dr. John Knight, surgeon; Thomas Nicholson, John Slover and Jonathan Zane, guides. There were of course other officers. Lieutenant John Rose, of the regular army, went as aide-de-camp to Crawford. General Irvine wrote to Washington on the 21st as follows: "Crawford pressed me for some officers, and I have sent with him Lieutenant Rose, my aide-de-camp, a very vigilant, active, brave young gentleman, well acquainted with service and [Dr. Knight} a surgeon. These are all I could venture to spare."[60]

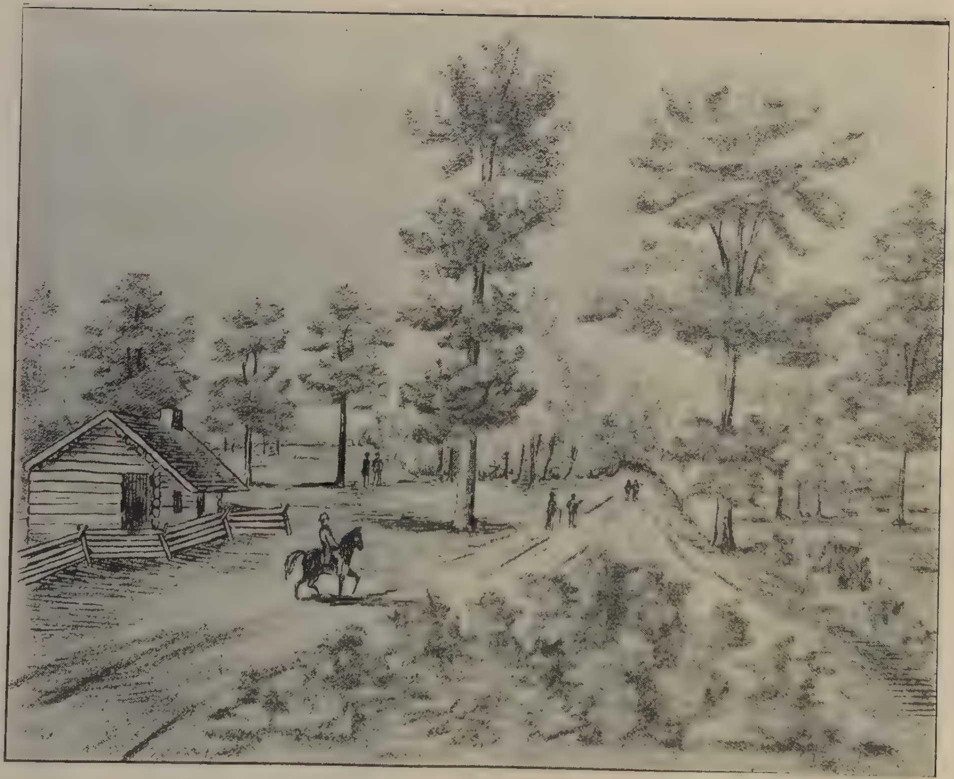
Butterfield in writing of the campaign says: "The project against Sandusky, was as carefully considered, and as authoritatively planned as any military enterprise in the west during the Revolution." On the 25th of May, the volunteers, four hundred and eighty strong, all mounted on good horses, began their march from Mingo Bottom. "The route," says Butterfield, "lay through what is now the counties of Jefferson, Harrison, Tuscarawas, Holmes, Ashland, Richland, Crawford—nearly to the center of Wyandot county." One of the volunteers, Lieut. Francis Dunlevy, wrote a brief account of the campaign.[61] He afterwards became a classical scholar and held high positions in Ohio. In four days the army reached the Upper Moravian village—sixty miles from Mingo Bottom.[62] On the 2d of June the Sandusky river was seen three miles west of where Crestline now stands. On the 3d of June the volunteers encamped for the night on the Sandusky Plains, near where the village of Wyandot may now be seen. On the 4th, after traveling six miles, they came to the mouth of the Little Sandusky, a spot well known to John Slover,

---

[60] Sparks' Corr. Amer. Rev. vol. III. p. 502.

[61] See his declaration for a pension: 1832.

[62] See Dr. Knight's Narrative.



BATTLE ISLAND — CRAWFORD'S BATTLE GROUND.

Drawing by Henry Howe, the Historian, Author of Howe's History of Ohio, 1846.

one of the army pilots.[63] On the same day they found Upper Sandusky Old Town, situate on the Sandusky river about three miles in a south-easterly direction from the Upper Sandusky of to-day, deserted. Not an Indian was to be seen.[64] "We advanced on," says Knight in his Narrative, "in search of some of their settlements, but had scarcely got the distance of three or four miles from the old town" when we learned that Crawford's mounted scouts who had been sent forward to reconnoiter, had discovered "about three miles in front," near a grove they were occupying, "a large body of Indians running toward them." Crawford heard of their presence with great satisfaction, and commenced a forward movement. Near where the scouts had first sighted them they were soon seen by the entire cavalcade, some little distance ahead taking possession of the grove the reconnoitering party had so recently abandoned,—since well known as Battle Island. Crawford at once saw the advantage this would give the Indians, and ordering his men to dismount, moved swiftly forward, and by rapid firing soon dislodged the enemy, and occupied the grove.

It was 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of June when this contest, known as the Battle of Sandusky, began,—three miles and a half northeast of the present county seat of Wyandot county—American frontiersmen on one side,[65] and British soldiers and Indians on the other. Crawford's troops, though outnumbered, had the best position,[66] that is they were in possession of the grove—Battle Island—and on higher ground, while the

---

[63] Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky, p. 151.

As to the high character of Dr. John Knight, and John Slover, see Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 128.

[64] Col. Crawford "took every precaution to guard against ambuscades and surprises." "Unceasing vigilance was the watchword." (History of Wyandot County, Ohio, p. 246.)

[65] General Irvine in speaking of the expedition, said it was composed of "disinterested and virtuous men, who had the protection of the country in view." (History of Wyandot County, Ohio, p. 242.)

[66] See report dated "Camp Upper Sandusky, June 7, 1782," of Lieut. John Turney of Corps of Rangers, to Major A. S. De Peyster, British Commandant at Detroit. (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 368.)

Indians and their white allies were sheltered by the tall coarse prairie grass that then covered the Sandusky Plains.

The Delaware Indians, under Captain Pipe, a noted war chief, and Wingenund, another chief, and the renegade, Simon Girty, first met the Americans; but the Wyandots led by Zhaus-sho-toh, and Captain Mathew Elliott, another white renegade, soon came to their relief. Two companies of white soldiers from Detroit were in the fight, and forty-four "lake Indians."[67] The enemy was reinforced on the second day by one hundred and forty Shawanese, and more white soldiers, and lake Indians. The whole were commanded by Captain William Caldwell, a British officer, assisted by Captain Alex. McKee, Captain Elliott, Captain Grant, Lieutenant Turney, Lieutenant Clinch, besides Simon Girty, and other white officers[68] in uniform. Girty, Elliott and McKee, though renegades and deserters,[69] spoke the Delaware and Wyandot languages.

The first day the battle raged with varying fortunes, sometimes more favorable to one side than the other till dusk, when the British and Indians, defeated but not discouraged, drew further back and the firing ceased.[70] Lieut. John Turney, of the Corps of Rangers, writing to Major De Peyster at Detroit, from "Camp Upper Sandusky, June 7, 1782," says: "On the 4th about 12 o'clock the enemy appeared about two miles from this place. Captain Caldwell with the rangers, and about two hundred Indians, marched out to fight them, and attacked them about 2 o'clock. The enemy * * * had every advantage of us as to situation of ground people could possibly wish for. The action became general and was dubious for some time. * * The battle was very hot till night, which put a stop to firing."[71] There was no lack of bravery on either side during the entire time the contest lasted—from 2

---

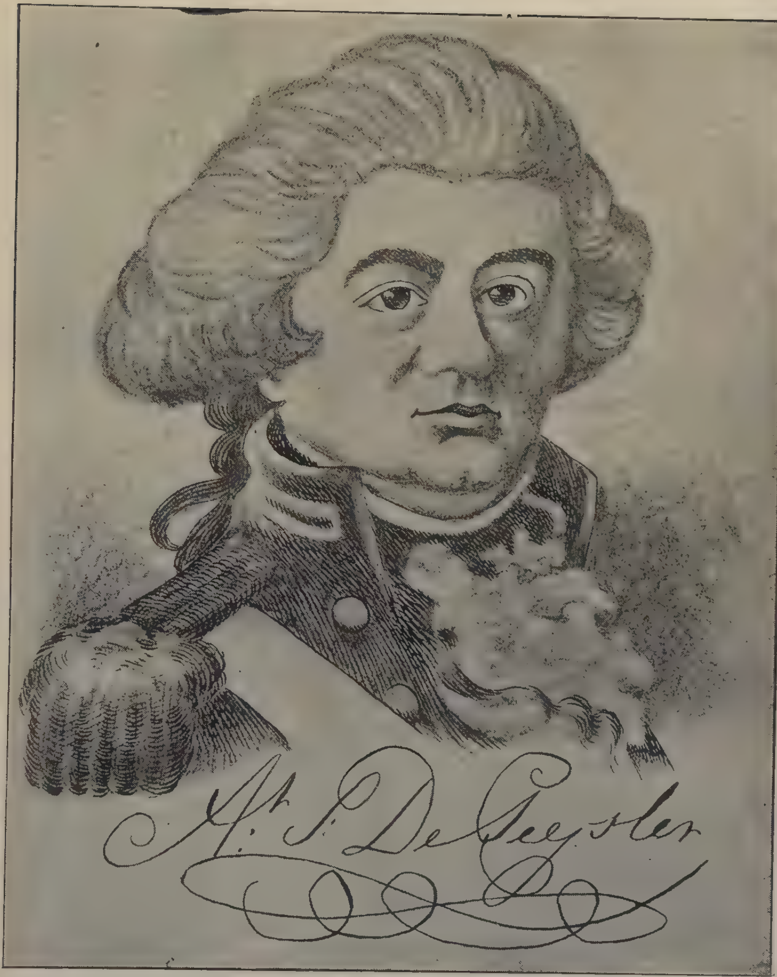
[67] Captain William Caldwell's report to Maj. De Peyster. Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 371.

[68] See Capt. Alex. McKee's report to De Peyster, dated Upper Sandusky, June 7, 1782. See same work, p. 370. See communication of Indian chief, Capt. Snake to Maj. De Peyster, same work, p. 369.

[69] Deserted March 28, 1778. See same work, pp. 17, 127.

[70] Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky, pp. 211, 212.

[71] Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 368.



MAJ. A. S. DE PEYSTER.

From a likeness (taken from a fine oil painting) that appeared in the Detroit Journal of July 11, 1896, and other Detroit papers, during the centennial celebration of the evacuation of Detroit by the British. (See Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan.)

o'clock till dark—although only five of the volunteers were killed and nineteen wounded. The loss of the British and Indians, though since denied, was probably far heavier,[72] but as they were constantly expecting the reinforcements[73] then marching to their relief, they were by no means disheartened.

On the part of the Americans, Crawford with consummate ability directed the fight, and his officers and men so far as known bravely did their duty. Lieutenant Rose was probably Crawford's most efficient officer.[74] Cool and daring, his martial bearing and words of encouragement stimulated every drooping spirit, reviving the sanguine expectations, enthusiasm, and courage of every man. Pursued during the engagement "by a party of mounted Indians who were so close to him at times as to throw their tomahawks," Rose happily escaped, owing to "his coolness and superior horsemanship." The strategy and vigilance of Major Williamson and Major Leet, were generally commended. Lieutenant Dunlevy, Philip Smith, Sherrard, Canon, John Campbell, and others were brave, reliable and efficient.[75]

---

[72] Capt. Wm. Caldwell of Butler's Rangers, who commanded at Upper Sandusky, in his report dated June 11, 1782, says: "Our loss is very inconsiderable; one ranger killed, myself and two wounded; Le Vellier, the interpreter, killed; four Indians killed and eight wounded."

[73] Lieut. Turney to Major De Peyster, commanding at Detroit. Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 368. Captain Elliott and Lieutenant Clinch "in particular signalized themselves," says Lieut. Turney to Maj. De Peyster.

[74] "John Rose and John Gunsaulus, were the undoubted heroes of the conflict on the side of the borderers." History of the Girtys, p. 167.

[75] Capt. William Caldwell, in command at Upper Sandusky, where he was shot through both legs, writing from Lower Sandusky, to Maj. De Peyster, June 11, 1782, puts our killed and wounded at two hundred and fifty and intimates that we had six hundred in the fight. He asks that the Indians be supplied with provisions, ammunition, tobacco, "and such other things as are necessary for warriors." He compliments Chief-with-one-Eye, Dewantale, Sidewaltone, and other lake Indians; and believes that none of the Americans could have escaped if he had not been wounded. (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 371.)

Major De Peyster, writing from Detroit, June 12, 1782, to Brigadier-General H. W. Powell, commanding at Niagara, says: "I have the pleasure to inform you, that the rangers and confederate Indians from this

As soon as those who had enlisted for the campaign met at Mingo Bottom, Indian runners who had been acting as spies, started to notify the Delawares and Wyandots, who in turn notified the Shawanese, and their British allies, at Detroit, of the invasion of the Indian country.[76]

It is well established that Crawford's army, though outnumbered by the enemy, was clearly victorious on the 4th, that the fighting on the 5th was desultory, and that little damage was done, and that on the evening of the 5th our sentries discovered that the enemy was being largely reinforced by bands of Indians and mounted rangers.[77] The Indians mostly came from the Shawanese towns[78] south of the Sandusky Plains, and the white soldiers from Detroit, De Peyster, the British commandant at that place having dispatched Butler's Rangers, and some "Lake Indians" to help repel the invaders.[79] They came from Detroit

---

post, have been successful in opposing the enemy at Sandusky." De Peyster, writing from Detroit, July 18, 1782, to Thomas Brown, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, claims "a complete victory over 600 of the enemy." "Col. Crawford, who commanded, was taken in the pursuit, and put to death by the Delawares, notwithstanding every means had been tried by an Indian officer present to save his life." De Peyster regrets the revival of "the old savage custom." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 372.)

[76] Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky, p. 159.

[77] Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 292, 293. De Peyster sent the Rangers to the Sandusky river in a vessel, called the Faith. (History of the Girtys, p. 162.)

[78] Lieut. Rose to Gen. Irvine, Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 371, 372. "On the 5th * * about 12 o'clock we were joined by one hundred and forty Shawanese, and had got the enemy surrounded." (Lieut. Turney to Major De Peyster, from "Camp Upper Sandusky, June 7, 1782.) On the 4th of June the advantage was on the side of the Americans. The loss of the enemy (British and Indians) was six killed, 11 wounded, including Capt. Caldwell. The enemy was reinforced June 5th by 140 Shawanese, a detachment of rangers, and some "lake Indians." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 122, 123.) See John Leith's Narrative, p. 15.

[79] The Wyandot Half-King begs Major De Peyster to send him some provisions, ammunition, clothing and a little rum to drink His Britannic Majesty's health, and hopes that the Detroit Indians will be ready to come to his aid when again needed. (Lieut. Turney's second report to Major De Peyster, from Camp Upper Sandusky, June 7, 1782.)

SIMON GIRTY.

After a rare and striking likeness in one of the works of an esteemed Ohio author — Prof. W. H. Venable, LL. D.

by lake and river, bringing two field pieces and a mortar. When the astounding discovery was made that the enemy was receiving such reinforcements,[80] Crawford at once called a council of war, at which it was decided not to attack the enemy so "superior in numbers" that night, as intended, but to prepare to retreat in good order soon after dark. Simon Girty was seen during the day by Lieut. Francis Dunlevy, and others, who knew him well. Dunlevy, who was stationed near the edge of the prairie to watch the movements of the enemy, often saw Girty, who appeared to be in a high state of excitement, riding back and forth on a white horse giving orders. Many of the volunteers thought Girty was in command. Our troops about 9 o'clock formed in proper order to begin the retreat,[81] with Colonel Crawford at the head, and the wounded near the center. The enemy suspecting Crawford's object began firing, which resulted in much confusion among the volunteers.[82] Some got separated from the main body and were shot and scalped, or captured, others reached home after many narrow escapes and much suffering; but upwards of three hundred remained together, pushing ahead, while resisting and fighting the pursuing Indians[83] and British.[84] About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th the enemy had become so daring and troublesome that the army in retreat decided to make a stand and fight for their lives. An encounter then took place near the Olentangy creek, in what is now Whetstone township,[85] Crawford county, called the battle of Olentangy, about five miles from the present site of Bucyrus, and six from Galion, in which the Americans were once more successful. It lasted about an hour, and our loss, says Lieut. Rose, was "three killed and eight wounded." During the battles and retreat Major Williamson and Lieutenant Rose were active, vigilant and invaluable.

---

[80] Capt. Snake, in a speech sent to Maj. De Peyster, dated Upper Sandusky, June 8, 1782, in behalf of the Mingoes, Shawanese and Delawares, says: "Let the rangers * * remain about ten days, and then march to our villages." Capt. Snake asks for more soldiers and stores, cannon and provisions. Capt. Alex. McKee, writing to the same British officer from Upper Sandusky, June 7, 1782, says: "You have already an account of the repulse of 500 of the enemy who advanced near this place and were surrounded by near an equal number of Indians with the rangers." McKee then describes the retreat and pursuit, refers to what the Indians intend to do, and says they want further assistance * * "with a further supply of ammunition and stores suitable for warriors." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 369, 370.)

[81] On the 5th of June 1782, "we heard a cannon fire at Upper Sandusky. * * At length the Americans under Col. Williamson stole a retreat on the Indians who were gathering around them in great numbers; but Col. Crawford with most of his men was taken by them. They tomahawked all his men and burnt him alive." (Short Biography of John Leith, p. 16. Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 305.)

[82] "Confusion followed, and some in the front line hurried off, followed by many pushing forward from the rear. The advance under command of Maj. McClelland, was furiously attacked by the Delawares and Shawanese and suffered severely, the major being fatally wounded." (History of Wyandot County, p. 246.)

The returning volunteers, at the head of whom was Major Williamson, without much further annoyance reached Mingo Bottom, and crossed the Ohio the 13th of June; they were discharged the 14th, and thus a memorable campaign lasting twenty days came to an end.[86] John, the beloved son of Colonel Crawford, reached home about the same time.[87]

On the 16th General Irvine informed Washington of the

---

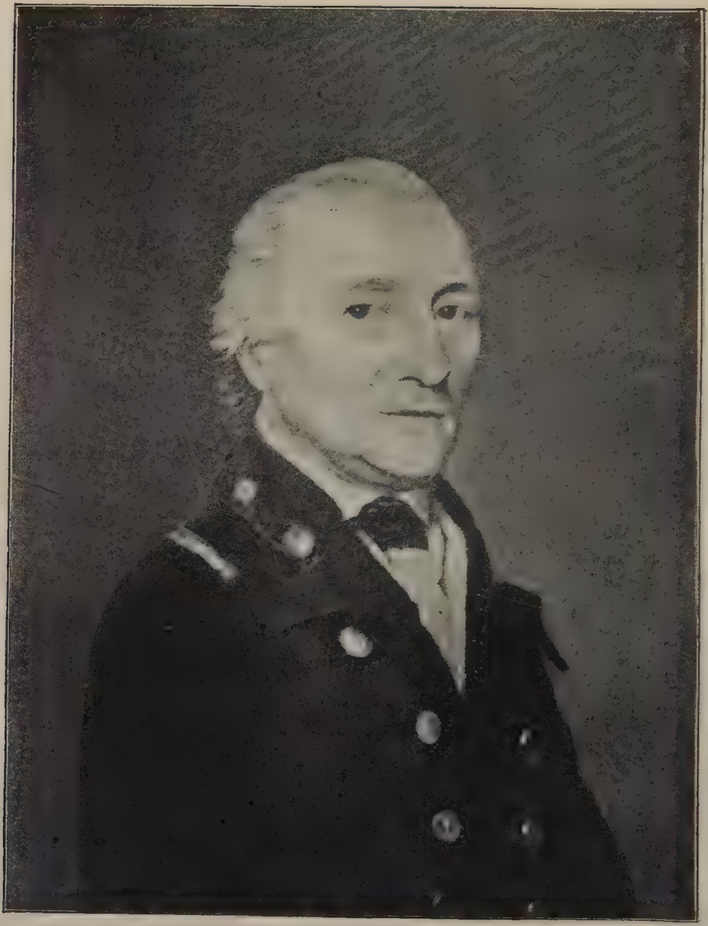
[83] "De Peyster lost no time in dispatching Rangers and some Lake Indians to the help of the Wyandots. The former were a company commanded by Capt. William Caldwell. Crossing Lake Erie to Lower Sandusky, they began their march up the Sandusky river, making all possible haste to succor their Indian allies." (History of the Girtys, p. 163.)

[84] Lieut. John Turney, who took command of the British and Indians after Capt. Wm. Caldwell was wounded, in his report to Major A. S. De Peyster, commanding at Detroit, says: "Some of the Indians pursued" the Americans, and "as soon as I heard of the retreat I pursued them with the rangers." On the 11th of June Capt. Caldwell wrote to De Peyster: "The Delawares are still in pursuit, and I hope we will account for most of the 600." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 368, 371.)

[85] On the north-west quarter of section 22.

[86] Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 122, 123.

[87] Maj. Wm. Harrison, the son-in-law of Col. Crawford, and his nephew, William Crawford, were captured and put to death by the Delawares. Both suffered the most cruel torture. (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 376, 377.)



BARON DE ROSENTHAL.

At 75 years of age.

From a portrait — after an oil painting in Russia — presented to Mrs. Margaret Irvine Biddle of Washington, D. C., gr. granddaughter of Gen. Wm. Irvine, by Baron George Pilar Von Pilchau of St. Petersburg, Russia, gr. grandson of Baron de Rosenthal.

result of the expedition; on the 5th of July he notified the executive of Pennsylvania of the failure of the campaign. On the 6th of August Washington wrote to Irvine, "I lament the failure of the expedition."

The State of Pennsylvania paid all losses sustained by the soldiers, and in many instances awarded pensions, and later the general government granted pensions.[88] The loss our invading army sustained is believed to have been seventy, killed, captured, missing, and those who died of wounds.[89]

The real name of Crawford's brave and brilliant young aide-de-camp was not John Rose, but Gustave Henri De Rosenthal. He was born in Livonia, Russia, and was a baron of the empire. Having killed a fellow nobleman in a duel near the palace in St. Petersburg, he fled in disguise to our country, then at war with Great Britain, entered our service, fought long and gallantly for our independence, was the hero of the retreat from the Sandusky Plains,[90] and finally having been pardoned by the Emperor Alexander, he left Philadelphia for his Russian home in the month of April, 1784. He there married an early love, gained distinction, was appointed grand marshal of the province of Livonia, became the father of five children, kept up a correspondence with General Irvine, and after his death with his son, and in consideration of his long and valuable services our government granted him bounty lands in Ohio, and the State of Pennsylvania gave him two tracts in the northwestern part of that State. This accomplished man and friend of our country, the only Russian on the American side in the war of Independence, died in his native land on his own estate in 1829.[91]

---

[88] Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky, pp. 246, 247.

[89] Lieut. Rose in writing June 13, 1782, to Gen. Irvine, says: "Our loss will not exceed thirty in killed and missing." The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser of July 6, 1782, estimates the missing at from fifty to seventy. "The entire loss was about fifty men." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 123.) "The result is a total loss of less than seventy." (Crawford's Campaign, p. 259.)

[90] "I furnished the party with ammunition, and sent written instructions to the commander, and also sent two Continental officers — Major Rose, my own aide-de-camp, and Doctor Knight, surgeon of one of the regiments under my command — to assist Colonel Crawford. After the defeat, the second in command [Williamson], and others, informed me that it was owing in a great degree to the bravery and good conduct of Major Rose that the retreat was so well effected." (Gen. Irvine to Hannah Crawford.)

On the night of the 5th of June, as the army, somewhat panic stricken, was retreating[92] from the Sandusky Plains, Colonel Crawford, then some distance from the field of action, not seeing his son John, son-in-law William Harrison, nephew William Crawford, or aide-de-camp Lieutenant Rose, called aloud for each, and continued to call till the troops in much confusion had got some distance ahead. Then seeing Dr. Knight, he begged him to remain with him, saying his horse had nearly given out, and that he could not keep up with the troops; he also condemned the precipitate and disorderly retreat, and the violation of orders in deserting the wounded. Failing, during the excitement and rout, to find his missing relatives, or Lieutenant Rose, for it was now quite dark, and the firing becoming very hot, Crawford, Knight, and two other soldiers finally concluded to start east. They afterwards fell in with Captain Biggs and Lieutenant Ashley. About 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th, a number of Delaware Indians, whose camp was only a half mile distant, suddenly appeared before them, not twenty steps away. Dr. Knight and the others, getting behind trees were about to fire, when Crawford induced them not to do so. The other four were so fortunate as to escape, but "The Colonel and I," says Knight in his narrative, "were then taken to the Indian camp."[93] Here they found nine other prisoners, among whom was John McKinley, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia Regiment, and all were constantly watched, with little to eat, till Monday morning, the 10th of June, when in charge of seventeen Delawares, they all started as they were informed, to Upper Sandusky—the Half King's town, thirty-three miles hence. At the Half King's town, Colonel Crawford had an interview with the notorious Simon Girty, whom he had long known, and begged him to save his life, offering him a thousand dollars. Girty promised to exert all his influence to save him, with probably no intention whatever of doing it. He also informed him that his son-in-law and nephew had been captured by the Shawanese, but afterwards pardoned. This was false, for the guide John Slover, who was captured, said after his escape, that he saw the dead bodies of William Harrison and William Crawford at Wapatomica, as they lay black, bloody and mangled.[94] Slover recognized the faces of both. Girty was born in Pennsylvania, and the Colonel had known him before his desertion. His father came from Ireland, and this is what Henry Howe, the historian, says of him: "The old man was beastly intemperate, and nothing ranked higher in his estimation than a jug of whisky. 'Grog was his song, and grog would he have.' His sottishness turned his wife's affection. Ready for seduction, she yielded * * * to a neighboring rustic, who to remove all obstacles to their wishes, knocked Girty on the head, and bore off the trophy of his prowess.[95] When Simon Girty was a subaltern at Fort Pitt, and more or less intimate with Crawford, there is a tradition that he was a suitor for the hand of one of the Colonel's daughters, whose refusal offended him. Be that as it may, he still professed friendship, and promised to do all he could for him. Tom Jelloway, one of the so-called Christian Indians, who understood English, overheard the conversation between Crawford and Girty, which he was careful to repeat to the hostile Delaware chiefs, Captain Pipe and Wingenund. Crawford's offer of money is said to have incensed these chiefs, and fixed their determination to torture him to death. On the morning of the 11th, Crawford, as well as Captain Pipe and Wingenund, arrived at Upper Sandusky Old Town, where Knight and the other nine prisoners had spent the night. Thereupon Captain Pipe, having painted with his own hand all the prisoners, including Crawford and Knight, black, started with them on the trail leading to the village of the Wyandots. They had not traveled far till four of the prisoners were tomahawked and scalped. Captain Pipe and Crawford were well acquainted, having frequently met, and on the 17th of September, 1778, both signed a treaty of peace at Fort Pitt, between the Delawares and the United States. On the march, Crawford and Knight, who walked between The Pipe and Wingenund, were carefully guarded. The crafty Pipe told the colonel he was glad to see him, and that he should be adopted as an Indian when they met his friends, meaning the prisoners, at the Wyandot village. After reaching the famous springs where Upper Sandusky now stands, and they changed their course for the Delaware town on the Tymochtee, Crawford and Knight lost hope, and felt that their doom was sealed. When the Little Tymochtee was reached, the Indians caused Crawford and Knight, and the remaining five prisoners, to sit down on the ground, whereupon "a number of squaws and boys fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them all." An old squaw cut off the head of John McKinley, a gallant officer of the Revolution, and a relative no doubt of Governor McKinley,[96] and kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fiends often came to where Crawford and Knight were sitting, and dashed the reeking scalps in their faces. At the end of these dreadful and barbarous scenes, Crawford and Knight were told to move on. They were then in what is now Crawford township, Wyandot county, and soon met Simon Girty and some Indians on horseback. Well knowing Crawford's dreadful doom, they had come from the Half King's town to witness the holocaust.[97] Riding up to Crawford, Girty spoke to him, but said nothing of the determination the two chiefs had come to. Girty now saw the chiefs for the first time since he had given Crawford his promise, but made no effort to save him, nor is it at all likely he could have saved him. These two war chiefs were not only in close alliance with the British, and determined enemies of the Americans, but as Delaware Indians, loved to inflict cruel tortures, and to witness human suffering and agony. As to what took place after Crawford's capture, we have ample testimony, for Dr. Knight, his fellow captive, whose escape was marvelous, was present nearly all the time.

---

[91] He was exceptionally fine looking, was born in 1753, and died in Rival, June 26, 1829. Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 117.

[92] Lord Derby was kind enough to transmit through the U. S. Legation at London, copies of various letters, dispatches, and speeches, from which liberal quotations have been made, relating to the battle of Sandusky, the retreat of the Americans, the capture of Col. Crawford, and his awful death by torture. Though in some particulars they are exaggerations, still they are valuable as the enemy's version of that unhappy episode of the Revolution. (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. iv.)

[93] "A number of people inform me that Colonel Crawford ought to be considered as a Continental officer, and are of the opinion that retaliation should take place." (Irvine to Washington, July 11, 1782.)

---

[94] "As they lay black, bloody—burnt with powder." Slover also saw their clothing and horses. (Slover's Narrative.) William Harrison was tied to a stake, when the savages fired powder at him until he died; they then quartered him, and left the quarters hanging on four poles. (The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser of July 27, 1782.)

[95] Historical collections of Ohio, vol. II. p. 186. See Campbell's Biographical Sketches, p. 147.

Oliver M. Spencer was taken captive while a youth by the Indians in 1792. He says of Simon Girty: "His dark shaggy hair, his low forehead, his brows contracted and meeting above his short flat nose, his gray sunken eyes averting the ingenuous gaze, his lips thin and compressed, and the dark and sinister expression of his countenance to me seemed the very picture of a villain."

---

[96] Since the above was written, Governor McKinley has been made President of the United States.

As the party moved along toward the Tymochtee, almost every Indian the prisoners met, struck them with their fists or with sticks. Girty, waiting until Knight came along, asked, "Is that the doctor?" Knight told him who he was, and went toward him reaching out his hand, but Girty, calling him a damned rascal, told him to begone.

A fire was started on the 11th of June, on the east bank of the Tymochtee, near this grove and about three-quarters of a mile from the Delaware village. Ordinary prisoners were tomahawked without much ado; but Crawford, the "Big Captain," was reserved for a death more terrible: exceeding in fiendish, ferocious, devilish cruelty, and barbarity, anything recorded in savage annals.[98] Around the fire stood a crowd of Indians, thirty or forty men, and sixty or seventy squaws and boys.[99] Simon Girty was present, along with some Wyandot Indians; also Captain Elliott;[100] and Knight thought another British captain was there. Sammy Wells,[101] the captive negro boy well known to the early settlers on the Sandusky Plains, was present holding Girty's horse. Dr. Knight was a short distance from the fire, strongly bound, and guarded by an Indian named Tutelu. Christian Fast, a captive boy of seventeen, a native of Westmoreland, and known to Crawford, was in the crowd.[102] Crawford was stripped naked and ordered to sit down. The Indians then beat him with sticks and their fists, and Knight was treated in the same way. The fatal stake—a post about fifteen feet high—had been set firmly in the ground. Crawford's hands were bound behind his back, and a rope fastened—one end to the foot of the post, and the other to the ligatures between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down, or walk around the post once or twice and return the same way. Crawford then called to Girty, and asked him if they intended to burn him. Girty answered "Yes." He then replied he would take it all patiently. Upon this Captain Pipe made a speech to the Indians, who at its conclusion yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The spot where Crawford was now to be tortured and burnt, marked by a monu-

---

[97] Maj. De Peyster writing from Detroit, August 18, 1782, to Gen. Fredk. Haldimand, says: "Your letter of the 11th of July, * * regretting the cruelty committed by some of the Indians upon Colonel Crawford, and desiring me to assure them of your utter abhorrence of such proceedings," has been received. * * "I had sent messengers throughout the Indian country, previous to the receipt of your letter, threatening to recall the troops, if they, the Indians, did not desist from cruelty. I have frequently signified to the Indians how much you abhor cruelty, and I shall to-morrow dispatch a person I have great confidence in, to carry your instructions to the southern nations." De Peyster then says he has reinforced Captain Caldwell, and sent "Captain Grant to the Miamie with the armed vessels and gun boats." At that date the Maumee was called the Miamie, or the Miamie of the Lakes.

---

[98] Gen. Haldimand, writing from Quebec, July 28, 1782, to Sir Guy Carlton, says: "The rebels were near 600 strong," and "250 were killed and wounded"; "Colonel Crawford, who commanded, and two captains, were tortured by the Indians." * * "I hope my letter will arrive in time to prevent further mischief." * * "This act of cruelty is to be the more regretted as it awakens in the Indians that barbarity to prisoners which the unwearied efforts of his majesty's ministers had totally extinguished." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 373.)

[99] Knight's Narrative, p. 11.

[100] Slover's Narr., p. 23. See letter of Major De Peyster. Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 372.

[101] Was living in Wyandot Co., in 1857. History of Wyandot Co., O., p. 738.

[102] Knapp's History of Ashland county, pp. 507, 508.

The Burning of Crawford at the Stake.

ment to commemorate his memory, is within the limits of Crawford township, as it is defined to-day, as nearly every one is aware, a short distance northeast of the town of Crawfordsville, in Wyandot county, Ohio, "On a low bottom on the east bank of the Tymochtee creek."[103] It was here at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Tuesday, June 11, 1782, the frightful torture and orgies commenced. The Indian men took up their guns, and shot powder into the colonel's body from his feet as far up as his neck. Not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of Knight's belief, cut off both his ears; for when the Indians drew back, he saw the blood running from both sides of his head. The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which Crawford was tied. It was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians at a time would each take up one of the burning poles, and apply the burning ends to his naked body already burnt black with gunpowder. These red devils stood on every side of the old soldier, and met him with their burning fagots, whichever way he moved, or ran round the post. Some of the squaws,[104] with broad boards or wooden shovels, would scoop up quantities of live coals, or hot embers and cast them on him; so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire or hot ashes to walk on! In the midst of these excruciating tortures, Crawford called to Girty, and begged him to shoot him; the brutal white savage making no answer, he called again. Girty then, by way of derision, told Crawford he had no gun; at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, he laughed heartily, and by all his actions and gestures, seemed delighted at the horrid scene. Girty then came up to Knight, and bade him prepare for death, and swore a fearful oath that he need not expect to escape, but should be burnt at the Shawanese town, and suffer death in all its extremities. Girty continued talking, but Knight was in too great anguish and distress on account of the torments Crawford was suffering before his eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate himself in two days, to make any answer to the monster.

---

[103] Howe's His. Coll. Ohio, p. 546. William Walker, the late Wyandot Chief, wrote: "The precise spot was pointed out to many inquirers and early white settlers by the Indians. The place is about seven miles northwest from Upper Sandusky, near Carey, but nearer to Crawfordsville, and near to the east bank of the Tymochtee creek." The spot was pointed out to Walker in the spring of 1814, "by a Wyandot of high respectability who was present when Crawford was tied to the stake." (Crawford's Expedition against Sandusky, p. 386.)

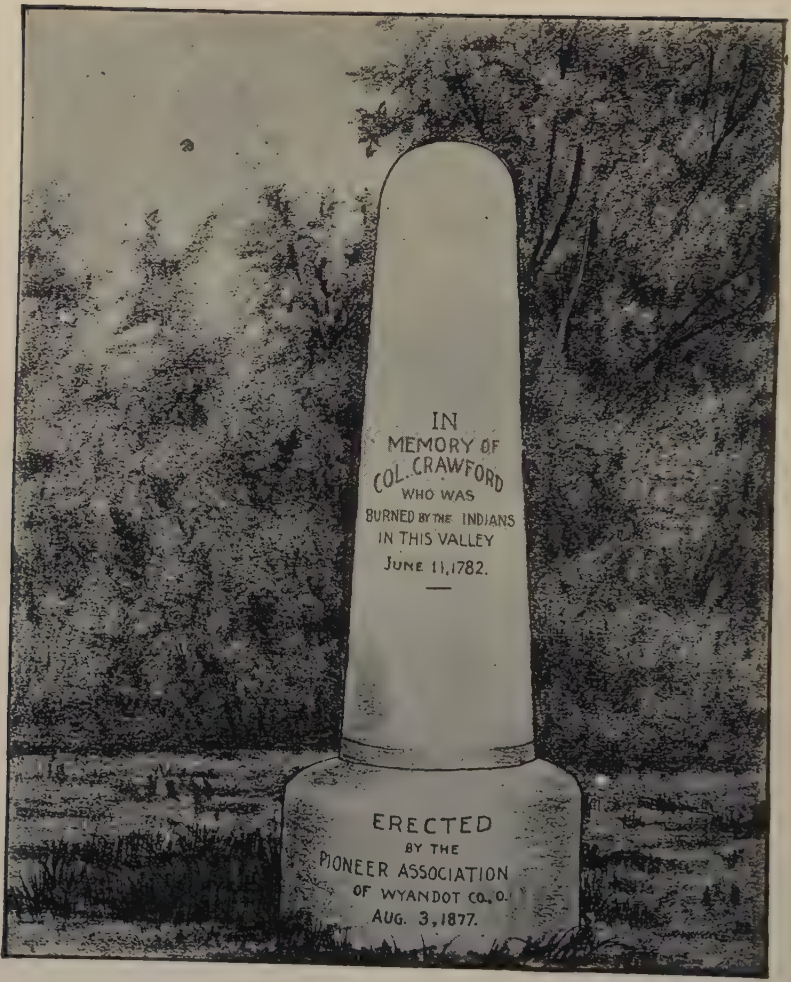
[104] A gentleman at Quebec, writing to a friend in Edinburgh, July 17, 1782, says: "A Colonel Clark, commanding a large party of Americans in the Illinois country, has been for some years meditating an attempt upon Fort Detroit, but hitherto has always been defeated by the vigilance and activity of the Indians. This year Clark had assembled about 4000 men, and we have heard was on his march to Detroit. He had ordered a Major Crawford to advance before his main body with about 500 men, and they had actually reached St. Douskie, when intelligence was brought to Major De Peyster, the commanding officer at Detroit. He instantly collected all the Indians he could, and sent Capt. Caldwell with them and a party of regulars, to surprise Major Crawford before he was joined by Clark. He did so effectually, for he completely routed the party and

Crawford at this period of his suffering, besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain, for an hour and three-quarters or two hours longer, as near as Knight could judge; when at last being almost spent, he lay down upon his stomach. The savages then scalped him, and repeatedly threw the scalp into the face of Knight, saying "he is your great captain." An old squaw, whose appearance Knight thought every way answered the ideas people entertain of the devil, then got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes, and laid them on his back and head.[105] He then raised himself

---

took about 200 prisoners. The Indians gave over the prisoners to their women, who instantly tomahawked every man of them with the most horrid circumstances of barbarity." (The Remembrancer, London, 1782, Part II, pp. 255, 256.)

[105] "Simon Girty arrived last night from the upper village (Half-King's town) who informed me, that the Delawares had burned Colonel Crawford and two captains at Pipes-Town, after torturing them a long time. Crawford died like a hero; never changed his countenance tho' they scalped him alive, and then laid hot ashes upon his head; after which they roasted him by a slow fire." (Capt. Caldwell, writing from Lower



CRAWFORD'S MONUMENT.

As it appears to-day, on the east bank of the Big Tymochtee near Crawford, Wyandot Co., Ohio.

upon his feet and began to walk around the post. They next put burning sticks to him as usual; but he seemed more insensible of pain than before. At this point Knight, expecting soon to suffer in the same way himself, was dragged away from the dreadful scene.[106]

When it became known in the Indian villages that Colonel Crawford had suffered such extreme torture, there was great joy, yelling and shouting; but when the story of his shocking death was told along the border, and repeated in army circles, and wherever his name was known, sorrow and grief were on every countenance. His loss was keenly felt, for he was generally beloved, and no life on the frontier was so valuable. But after all, it was the manner of his death that wrung every bosom. Ah, the anguish in the humble home on the Youghiogheny! Who can picture it?

When the heartrending intelligence flashed upon the land, Washington, deeply moved, wrote these words: "It is with the greatest sorrow and concern that I have learned the melancholy tidings of Colonel Crawford's death. He was known to me as an officer of much care and prudence; brave, experienced and

---

Sandusky, to Major De Peyster, June 13, 1782. History of the Girtys, p. 183.)

[106] Dr. Knight escaped from Tutelu, the Indian having charge of him, Thursday morning, the 13th of June, 1782. See Knight's Narr.

Having wandered alone in the wilderness three weeks, Dr. Knight safely arrived at Fort Pitt on the morning of July 4th, 1782, at 7 o'clock, weak, fatigued, and in a sad plight. "This moment," wrote Gen. Irvine to Gov. Moore, of Pennsylvania, "Dr. Knight arrived, the surgeon I sent with the volunteers to Sandusky. He was several days in the hands of the Indians, but fortunately made his escape from his keeper, who was conducting him to another settlement to be burnt." On the 11th of July, Gen. Irvine informed Washington that Knight had "demolished" his Indian keeper and returned to Fort Pitt. Dr. Knight remained at the fort as surgeon of the 7th Virginia regiment until the close of the war. October 14, 1784, he married Polly Stephenson, daughter of Col. Richard Stephenson, Col. Crawford's half brother; subsequently moved to Shelbyville, Ky., where he died March 12, 1838, the father of ten children. His wife died July 31, 1839. Dr. Knight drew from our government a pension. After his death his children applied for whatever was due under the act of 1832. Knight was faithful and true, a noble character.

active. The manner of his death was shocking to me, and I have this day communicated to the Congress such papers as I have regarding it." Writing to General Irvine, at Fort Pitt, on the 6th of August, he said: "I lament the failure of the expedition against Sandusky, and am particularly affected with the disastrous death of Colonel Crawford."

If Socrates died like a philosopher, and Jesus Christ like a God, then verily this manly, courageous soul, whose sufferings were a thousand fold greater, died like a hero, and patriot, and martyr. His name should live in the great American heart, and in the pantheon of history, while true patriotism is cherished, and the memory of the father of our country revered.

Great Crawford! Unselfish, magnanimous, heroic, your apotheosis is assured! and rolling years will only confirm and emphasize the solemn edict.

This spot of ground is now immortal, consecrated by the blood and martyrdom of the illustrious hero.

THE HISTORY OF POPULAR EDUCATION ON THE WESTERN RESERVE.

An Address Delivered in the Series of Educational Conferences held in Association Hall, Cleveland, September 7 and 8, 1896.

B. A. HINSDALE, PH. D., LL. D., PROFESSOR OF THE SCIENCE AND THE ART OF TEACHING IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

It is peculiarly appropriate that the programme of the Centennial Commemoration of the founding of the City of Cleveland and of the beginnings of the Western Reserve should embrace a generous recognition of the subject of education. It is fitting also that the conferences that mark this recognition should come at or near the close of the commemoration season rather than at the beginning, suggesting, as the fact does, the relation that education bears to all that has gone before. Nothing is more honorable to the Reserve than the prominence of education in its history. Nothing has given more character to its people than their educational intelligence, zeal, and activity. In nothing can they more confidently challenge comparison with other communities than in their devotion to schools and learning. In fact, the Reserve was twice dedicated to education, — once by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and once by the people that have made its history. While the history of the first dedication belongs to Connecticut rather than to Ohio, it will not be unfitting briefly to recite it as a prologue to the main discourse.

The reservation by the State of Connecticut, in 1786, of the block of territory to which the names Connecticut Reserve, New Connecticut, and Western Reserve were soon applied, raised at once the question, What shall be done with it? Several answers were returned to this question before the right one was finally found.

In October of the year just named, a month after the Connecticut cession, the General Assembly passed an act that authorized the survey and sale of a portion of the Reserve, with a proviso that five hundred acres of land in every township should be reserved for the support of the ministry, and the same quantity for the support of schools, within the township. This act was premature; only 24,000 acres were sold under it and it was repealed. In May, 1793, the half million acres lying across the Western end of the Reserve were given to the inhabitants of eight Connecticut towns who had suffered loss of property in the British raids into the State in the Revolutionary War. These lands, known as the Sufferers' Lands in Connecticut, and as the Fire Lands in Ohio, comprise Huron and Erie counties. In October of the same year the Assembly authorized the sale of the remaining lands on certain terms and conditions, and at the same time enacted: "That the moneys arising from the sale. . . . . be established a perpetual fund, the interest whereof is granted and shall be appropriated to the use and benefit of the several ecclesiastical societies, churches, or congregations of all denominations in the State to be by them applied to the support of their respective ministers or preachers of the Gospel and schools of education, under such rules and regulations as shall be adopted by this or some future session of the General Assembly." This provision at once created a violent agitation throughout the State, in the course of which the ecclesiastical societies and ministers of the Gospel came in for the lion's share of the public attention. The people of one town, in public meeting, declared that the appropriation was a step towards establishing a permanent sacerdotal order, and this opinion was more or less generally entertained. A still earlier proposition had been to devote the lands wholly to the support of the Connecticut ministry. This agitation went on for two years, but in the meantime the lands were not sold.

In May, 1795, the Assembly passed a new act, repealing the old one and making new terms of sale. At the same time the Assembly put the controversy about the disposition to be made of the proceeds at rest. It constituted these proceeds a perpetual fund, the interest of which should be applied to the support of schools within the State, according to the provisions of law then existing or from time to time enacted. A few months later the lands were sold to the Connecticut Land Company, and the payments, as they were made, were applied as the law directed. Moreover, the interest was capitalized until the fund amounted to about two million dollars. Such was the origin of the Connecticut Common School Fund, which, in the boyhood of men now living, was celebrated in the school geographies as one of the glories of American civilization. This fund still exists in its integrity, for the State watches over it with scrupulous care; but it has paled its ineffectual fires before the far greater school funds of later times.

It has been seen that at first Connecticut proposed to make a generous endowment for education on the Reserve soil. For some reason she abandoned this idea; she appropriated the soil to her own exclusive benefit, at the same time that her children by thousands were flocking to New Connecticut, where they were left to provide themselves with schools and education as best they could.

Briefly told this is the story of the first dedication of the Western Reserve to education. It was a dedication in a very literal sense of the term. The story of the second dedication, which was a far greater achievement, it will take much longer to tell.

The History of Popular Education in Ohio may be divided into three periods, as follows:

1. The period extending from the planting of the first settlements in 1788 to the enacting of the first general school law in 1821.
2. The period extending from 1821 to the reorganization and expansion of the school system of the State in 1853.
3. The period extending from 1853 to the present time.

These may be called the periods of preparation, planting, and development. To fill out this outline would be quite beyond the possibilities of the hour; but enough may be said to render it intelligible.

The Land Ordinance of 1785, the contracts that Congress made with the Ohio Company and with Symmes and his associates in 1787, and the Enabling Act of 1802 for the admission of the State to the Union, with exceptions soon to be noted, gave the inhabitants of every Congressional Township in Ohio Section No. 16, or one thirty-sixth part of the whole township, for the use of schools. Another act of legislation vested the title of these lands in the State Legislature. But these acts had no application to three extensive divisions of the State; viz.: The Western Reserve, the Virginia Military District, and the United States Military Bounty Lands, amounting to one-third of the whole area. Connecticut, as we have seen, had appropriated to her own use the whole of her reservation, and so had Virginia. The result was that the people of these three divisions were at a disadvantage compared with the people of the other parts of the State. Congress, however, by a series of acts came generously to their relief, appropriating them lands within the State, but beyond their own borders, that put them on the same footing as their neighbors. Thus, in 1807, Congress gave the Reserve eighty-seven and one-half square miles of school lands in the present counties of Tuscarawas and Holmes, and fifty-nine square miles more in 1834 in the northwestern part of the State, making one hundred and forty-six and one-half square miles, or 93,760 acres, in all. The school lands of the whole State amounted to eleven or twelve hundred square miles of surface, not including the three townships that were granted for Universities.

There is little reason to think that the framers of the Constitution of 1802 contemplated a school system to be supported by the State. All they did for education was to put into Article VIII of the Constitution the three following sections:

"Sec. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being essentially necessary to the good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of instruction shall forever be encouraged by legislative provision, not inconsistent with the rights of conscience."

"Sec. 25. No law shall be passed to prevent the poor in the several counties and townships within this State from an equal participation in the schools, academies, colleges, and universities within this State which are endowed in whole or in part from the revenue arising from the donations made by the United States for the support of schools and colleges; and the doors of the said schools, academies, and universities shall be open for the reception of scholars, students, and teachers of every grade, without any distinction or preference whatever, contrary to the intent for which the said donations were made."

"Sec. 27. Every association of persons, when regularly formed, within this State, and having given themselves a name, may, on application to the Legislature, be entitled to receive letters of incorporation, to enable them to hold estates, real and personal, for the support of their schools, academies, colleges, universities, and other purposes."

And this was all. The late Dr. Eli T. Tappan, one of the foremost educators that the State has produced, who investigated the subject with great care, said it was doubtful whether anything more was contemplated by the framers in regard to schools than the granting of corporate powers and the protecting of rights of person and property. The framers seem to have believed, he says further, that the school lands, including the university lands, would be adequate for the support of schools, academies, colleges, and universities. However this may be, all legislation relative to a public school system down to 1821 dealt with the school lands only. Touching this legislation, it will suffice to say that the General Assembly first attempted to lease the lands, and, that plan failing, finally offered them for sale, and in due time they were all sold. This was the source of the Irreducible School Fund of the State, which amounts to about three and a half million dollars. The last of the Reserve lands were sold in 1852. The portion of the whole State Fund that belongs to the Reserve is something more than a quarter of a million dollars. These results seem small; but we must remember that the problem of handling school lands in great quantities was a new one, that Ohio was the first State to grapple with it, and that, in those days, wild lands were more abundant than buyers.

In the first of the three periods, the General Assembly did very little for education. It legislated concerning the two universities at Athens and Oxford: beyond this it did nothing except to authorize school companies. All education previous to 1821 was purely voluntary, — as voluntary in provision as it was in attendance. Associated effort was of course resorted to where schools were established, for in the Ohio wilderness there were few families who could keep a private teacher. Citizens living within permitting distances would naturally act together in the provision and maintenance of schools for their children. School houses would be furnished and teachers employed. In such a state of affairs, charters of incorporation would often become desirable, if not necessary. Accordingly, acts incorporating schools begin to appear in the Statute book as early as 1808, and in 1817 a general act was passed to provide for the incorporation of school and library companies. Such companies were authorized to own property valued at ten thousand dollars, but were forbidden, on pain of forfeiting their charters, to employ any portion of their funds for banking purposes. How generally the schools took advantage of this legislation, and how generally they remained mere private associations, it would not be easy to ascertain.

In January, 1821, the General Assembly passed an act to provide for the regulation and support of common schools. This act authorized the division of townships into school districts, the election by the householders of the districts of school committees, the acceptance by these committees of gifts of land for school house sites, and the taxation of the property of all residents in the districts that were subject to State or county taxation for the purpose of erecting school houses, and also for the purpose of making up any deficiency that might accrue by the schooling of children whose parents or guardians were unable to pay for the same. The amount of taxes so levied in any district should not exceed one-half the amount levied for State or county purposes. The school committees were authorized to employ competent teachers, and to assess the expenses of the schools on the parents or guardians of all scholars in proportion to the whole number of scholars attending, provided that they might remit the assessments, in whole or part, made on parents or guardians who were unable to pay them. The committee might buy lots for school purposes if none were given or purchased by subscription. Every school in a township should have its proportion of rents arising from the school lands.

Such are the salient features of the first Ohio general school law. The law calls for a few words of comment. In the first place, its language is permissive merely, not mandatory: it authorizes the doing of a few things, but commands the doing of nothing. In the next place, it authorizes taxation for but two purposes — to provide school houses and to pay the fees of children whose parents are too poor to pay them. This is a suggestion of the so-called pauper schools, of which we hear more in some of the other States than in Ohio. Not a word is said about fuel, furniture, or incidental expenses. It is assumed that the people who use the schools will meet the major part of the expense directly, without any reference to the tax collector. The property of non-residents is not to be taxed for school purposes. The voluntary principle, it may be observed, was counted on by the General Assembly long after this time. Taxation for school furniture and fuel was not authorized until 1838; the school bill as a means of partially paying teachers lingered until 1853, and the good old plan of boarding around, which was a device for lengthening out the school money, perhaps still lingers in some parts of the State. How generally the people availed themselves of the powers of the act of 1821, we cannot tarry to inquire. Nor can we or need we follow step by step the evolution of the school system of which it was the beginning. Still, some of the more important facts cannot be omitted.

In 1825 the General Assembly passed a new law, which differed from the previous one in two important particulars. First, it was written in the language of command. It shall be the duty of the auditor, of the trustees, of the school directors, etc., the sections run. The new style suggests, what was no doubt true, that the people, as ministers say in relation to another subject, had not lived up to their privileges. A mere permission to educate conferred by law never yet produced a good school system. Selfishness is always strong enough to defeat general education on that basis. Experience has proved conclusively that three things are essential to an educated state: The provision of schools must be made obligatory; tuition must be practically free, and attendance upon the schools must be compulsory. The other change in the new law was the much wider range of powers conferred. The very first section provided for raising funds by taxation for the use of common schools, but not to exceed one-half a mill on the dollar. Boards of County Examiners were provided for, and only certificated persons could be employed as teachers. From this time forward there was a State fund available for the payment of teachers; but until 1853 it was never large enough, unless in favored localities, to permit the disuse of the rate bill.

The two laws of 1821 and 1825 were secured largely through the efforts of Judge Ephraim Cutler, of Washington county. It is soberly written in history that in 1825 there was in the Legislature a "school" party and a "canal" party; the first wanted schools, and the second canals, but neither one could secure a majority for its favorite measure; so the two parties worked together, and, as a result, won both schools and canals. The fact shows how times have changed; the proposition to connect the fortunes of the public schools and of the canals of Ohio at the present day would be ludicrous indeed.

From 1825 onward the State, participating in the general educational movement of the country, continued to make slow but steady progress. Sometimes a step was lost, but it was soon regained. It was the day of the common school revival. The Constitution of 1851 marks a great advance on 1802. Besides throwing its shield over the State School Fund, and casting a bulwark about the treasury to turn aside sectarian assaults, the new instrument declares: "The General Assembly shall make such provisions, by taxation or otherwise, as, with the income arising from the school trust fund, will secure a thorough and efficient system of common schools throughout the State." The act of 1853 entitled "An Act to provide for the reorganization, supervision, and maintenance of common schools", was the speedy fulfillment of this promise. This law provided an augmented school fund, established a central education office at the State capital, strengthened local authorities, and gave to common schools an impulse that they have never lost.

A few words touching the third period will answer the present purpose. The progress that the State has made in education is very great indeed. A few statistics will tell the story. In 1854 the pupils reported enrolled in the schools were 456,191. In 1895 the number was 817,490. The average attendance for the two years was 277,196 and 593,465 pupils. The school year had also considerably increased in length. The high school attendance at the first date was 4,611; at the second date 48,390. The total expenditure for public schools in 1854 was $2,266,457. In 1895, not counting interest on bonds redeemed, it was $12,496,345. The average pay per month of male teachers has nearly doubled, of female teachers considerably more than doubled. Still it must be said that the statistics are much more full and accurate now than they were then.

In no feature that strikes the eye has the improvement been so great as in school houses. Marvelous is hardly too strong a word to describe the change. In the year 1850 there were ten or more district school houses in the township of Wadsworth, Medina county, all well filled with pupils when the winter school was in session. I was familiar with the exterior of nearly all of these buildings, and with the interior of three or four of them. It would be quite safe to say that there was not a building among the number that to-day would sell for one hundred dollars. The one that I knew best was clapboarded and shingled, but there was not a bit of mortar about it, save what had been put into the chimney; while a Webster's "Elementary Spelling Book" could have been passed from the inside to the outside without opening the door or raising a window. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this district was behind others in enterprise.

Three Ohio men now deceased have exercised a far-reaching influence upon popular education throughout the country, and one of these belongs to the Reserve. These men were known in quite different ways. William H. McGuffey was little more than McGuffey's Readers, and Joseph Ray little more than Ray's Arithmetics and Algebras. But Thomas W. Harvey, in Ohio at least, was much more than Harvey's Grammars. This is not the place to recount at length Mr. Harvey's personal or educational history. As teacher and superintendent at Chardon, Republic, Massillon, and Painesville, as State Examiner and Commissioner of Common Schools, and as institute lecturer, he gained, it is probable, a wider personal knowledge of the teachers and schools of the State than any other man of his time. He was a charter member of the State Association, and for more than forty years was closely identified with every forward educational movement in the State. If not the greatest scholar or pedagogical thinker of the circle in which he moved, he was a good scholar and thinker; while his companionable ways, wisdom in council, long experience, sense of honor, and devotion to his chosen calling drew men to him wherever he went. All things considered, it may be doubted whether any other man has left a stronger impress on public education in Ohio than Thomas Harvey.

Let it not be supposed that I have forgotten the subject. The historical outline that has been drawn embraces the Western Reserve as well as the other parts of the State. Still from the beginning until 1853 the Reserve more than participated in the great educational advance that was made: She often led the column. Some examples of this leadership may be mentioned.

Previous to 1853 special school laws were often passed for particular localities. This was permissible under the old Constitution. Perhaps the best of these laws, and the one most widely copied, was the Akron law, enacted in 1847. This law now seems to us a very simple matter, but it was a great matter in its time. It was enacted in response to a popular demand that was led by the Rev. Mr. Jennings, at the time pastor of the Congregational church of Akron. The law made the town one school district, created one school board of six members, authorized a suitable number of primary schools and one central grammar school, and conferred power to levy taxes sufficient to meet the expense of the system. It has been said that the State law of 1853 was little more than an amplification of the Akron law. Under this law the late General M. D. Leggett organized the schools of Akron as superintendent, for which service he received the munificent salary of five hundred dollars a year. In 1847 Akron witnessed another interesting event. This was the organization of the Ohio State Teachers' Association, which has exercised such an important influence upon education in the State. Not only was the Association organized on the soil of the Reserve, but the meeting was called and the organization effected mainly through the efforts of Western Reserve men. Again, the first teachers' institute ever held in the West was held on the Reserve. The place was Sandusky, the year 1845. And, once more, Cleveland joined hands with Cincinnati to secure the school law of 1853. This act was carried through the Legislature by the Hon. Harvey Rice, then a senator from Cuyahoga county. And, generally, it will be found that the men of the Reserve were at the fore when there was an opportunity to do anything for schools and education.

Books of chronicles, while dry and uninteresting to most people, are full of marrow and fatness to those who have been touched by the historical passion. The educational chronicles of the Reserve in the early days are scanty, but eloquent for that very reason. We shall look into some of these books. And first a little volume called "Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Badger."

Father Badger, first of the missionaries sent to New Connecticut by the Connecticut Missionary Society, reached Poland at the end of December, 1800. The oldest Reserve settlements were but three years old, and the total population was 1302. Badger spent several years in missionary work in the Northeastern part of the State, commonly making his home in Austinburg. He relates that he found three families at Cleveland in June, 1801, and that he assisted in organizing the first church on the Reserve, at Austinburg, in October of the same year. Badger was a college man, and, as he revolved in his mind the question of removing his family to the Western wilderness, he reflected: "Our family of six children must now be taken from school to grow up in the woods without any advantage of even a common school for years." Occasionally he speaks of visiting a school. Early in 1803 we meet this entry: "Visited a school of sixteen children, the first attempted in this place." The place was, apparently, Austinburg. A year later he speaks of preaching in the North School House, Harpersfield, language which seems to imply a South School House also. As late as April 8, 1810, he wrote: "By preaching in different settlements, and visiting all schools now beginning to be set up, I learned the great want of school books, and by family visits I also learned the want of suitable books in families." Accordingly Badger, forming an Eastern connection for that purpose, undertook to supply both wants, in which he confesses he was not very successful.

Rev. Thomas Robbins, D. D., was the second missionary sent to the Reserve by the Connecticut Society. He arrived in December, 1803, and returned in May, 1806. His particular field of labor was Trumbull and Mahoning counties, but, like Badger, he traveled over the whole eastern half of the Reserve. While

Robbins' diary, consisting of more than two thousand octavo pages, covering fifty-six years of life, is as dull a book of its kind as could well be written, the two hundred pages covering his experience in New Connecticut contains many an interesting item. In the course of his journeyings he speaks of schools twenty or more times. Generally his mention is the mere fact, "Visited a school"; but sometimes he adds a word of comment, as that the school was small, or poorly governed but ambitious, or was well instructed, particularly in the catechism. He saw the frame of the first Burton academy in December, 1804, and was urged to become its first head, and the minister of the church.

Persons who are familiar with New England history will not be surprised to learn that a movement was on foot in those early days to found a college in New Connecticut. Both Badger and Robbins mention it several times. Boards of trustees were elected, sites were canvassed, and an act of incorporation was secured while Ohio was still a part of the Northwest Territory. Robbins mentions that one prospectus was sent to Connecticut to be printed. These efforts at college building were tentative only; still they point forward to Western Reserve College, founded at Hudson in 1826.

It is to be hoped that none grow weary of these old chronicles, or think them trivial. They are not dead but living; as was said of the words used by a great master of speech, cut them and they will bleed. We are standing at the sources of a great history, and we need not be in haste to descend the stream. We are not dealing with the smart new brick school house that stands on the main street in the village; or with the little red school house that stands in the country at the crossing of the roads; but with the old log school house that stood in the edge of the clearing which, with strong hands, was chopped out of the forest. Things have changed mightily since Hooker and Davenport made their plantings at Hartford and New Haven early in the seventeenth century; but in the thirst for education and zeal for schools the Connecticut stock have not changed. These chronicles tell us that, almost before the surveyors were out of the woods, the little communities sprinkled here and there through the wilderness were doing what they could to meet present educational needs and to plant for the future. It was, indeed, a day of small things; but in these small things lay the potency of the century that has now come to a close.

The chronicles of education often touch the heart and cause the lip to quiver. There is often pathos in the efforts that young men and women make to obtain mental culture, whether they are made in pioneer schools or in great universities. Take the story of Platt R. Spencer, the teacher and author, who traveled twenty miles and back again on foot to borrow a copy of Daboll's Arithmetic; or of Joshua R. Giddings, the statesman, who, denied the privileges of education after he was a small boy, never thought that he could have a profession until he was twenty-three years old, when he went regularly to school to a Presbyterian minister residing in the same town; or of Samuel Bissell, the minister and educator, who walked from Portage county to New Haven carrying his pack on his back, that he might study at Yale College.*

In the pioneer days we come upon no trace of a character who is familiar in many of the Southern States and in parts of Ohio. I refer to the Scotch-Irish schoolmaster. The New Connecticut Yankees had no use for him. The teachers of those days were not itinerants, but resident members of the several communities. They worked for small pay, and often received this in forms that would embarrass the modern schoolmaster or schoolma'am. Thus, the late Peter Hitchcock, of Burton, taught a winter's school in Burton and received his pay in pork and provisions. The Presbyterian and Congregational ministers did good educational service in those days, sometimes teaching the schools and sometimes private scholars in their own homes.

It would be inexcusable to omit from this summary the academies of the early time. The first of these schools, and one of the best, was the Burton Academy, opened to scholars in the winter of 1806-7. The building was 25 x 50; two school rooms and a hallway below, and a room for a church above. This structure burned in 1810, and was replaced with a more commodious one in 1819. It is said that the first term boys attended who lived

---

*Dr. Julian M. Sturtevant's *Autobiography* edited by J. M. Sturtevant, Jr., gives an interesting account of the manner in which some Ohio boys (1822–1826) obtained a college education. Fleming Revell Co., N. Y., Chicago, Toronto.

at a distance of five and six miles, which they doubled on foot twice every day. This academy flourished and narrowly escaped expanding into a college. "Students came in from every direction," says the local chronicler; "The Tods and Wickses from Youngstown, the Austins and Hawleys from Austinburg, the Perkinses and others from Warren." Another celebrated school of the same kind was founded at Norwalk in 1826. One authority pronounces this the largest and most famous institution of the kind in all the West. Here President Hayes, Governor Foster, General McPherson, and many others who attained a good degree, studied. Edward Thomson, afterwards president of Ohio Wesleyan University, and a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was at one time the principal. This school also narrowly escaped becoming a college; but as Burton had its Hudson, so Norwalk had its Delaware.

It must not be supposed that these schools of higher grade were few in number. The fact is they were many. At some time previous to 1850 nearly every enterprising township had its academy, or at least its select school, and, collectively, these schools exercised a prodigious influence upon society. The best of them were regularly incorporated institutions, owning their own property. They drew within their walls the ambitious sons and daughters of the most cultivated families, and often attracted students from a considerable distance. The Wadsworth Academy, taught by John McGregor, who had studied at the University of Edinburg, called students from Cleveland, Canton, and Millersburg. The teachers were often scholarly men. While these schools did much elementary teaching, as we should esteem it, they also did much real secondary work. The Brahman families of Northeastern Ohio towns sent their sons to Burton Academy to be fitted for Yale College.

These higher schools explain how it was that the Western Reserve became a nursery for school teachers. The supply was in excess of the local demand, and many young men wandered away to the southern part of the State or to other States in search of employment as teachers. Young James Garfield went to Muskingum county on such an errand. The veteran Judge Lester Taylor, of Claridon, speaking of Geauga county, once said: "Every township has more or less kept up schools for the benefit of advanced scholars, to study higher branches, during winter months. From all classes of these schools there has been graduated a class of qualified teachers, largely in excess of the home demand, who have for the last forty years gone south and west to teach in the winter, leaving in the fall as uniformly as the wild geese and other migratory birds, and returning to spend the summer in labor."

As the public schools increased in number and improved in quality, the academies began to lose ground. Wholly dependent, as a rule, on tuition charges for existence, they could not compete with free schools of equal grade. The law of 1853 gave them the finishing stroke. Some of the buildings were sold to boards of education, and many of the teachers entered the public schools; some of the old schools struggled bravely for existence, but in time nearly all, if not indeed all, of them passed into history.

There are two reasons for mentioning another celebrated school, which will appear in the sequel. The Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary opened its doors to the public in September, 1839, being established in the upper stories of the Temple at Kirtland, Lake county, which the Mormons had abandoned a short time before when they left the "First Stake" for the far West. This seminary existed about twenty years, and for much of the time was a very flourishing school. It drew to itself, as teachers and students, a number of persons who made a name in the world. Its foundation was mainly due to the efforts of the Rev. Nelson Slater, who served as first superintendent or principal. Dr. A. D. Lord was the head of this school for several years before he went to Columbus, and with him were associated M. F. Cowdery, Alfred Holbrook, and other well-known teachers. T. W. Harvey came from the printing office at Painesville, and M. D. Leggett from the farm in Montville, to study at Kirtland. Leggett was also employed for a time as one of the teachers. The other fact for which the seminary is noteworthy is the great attention that it paid to the preparation of teachers of both sexes for the common schools. In this respect it far surpassed any school on the Reserve that had gone before it, and, relatively speaking, it has perhaps not been equalled by any school that has succeeded it. It was founded only two years after the first Normal School in the United States was established, that at Lexington, Massachusetts.

In dealing with the Reserve I have been dealing with Cleveland. The majority of men are so little gifted with imagination, or are so poorly instructed in history, that they continually assume that all things continue as they were from the beginning. It is a very great mistake. In respect to education Cleveland is in no way marked off from other towns and villages until in quite recent times. The city merely repeats the history of Youngstown, Akron, and other places, only it has come to do things on a much larger scale. We can, therefore, run over the Cleveland story somewhat hastily.

Tradition tells of a school of five pupils in Cleveland when there were but three families on the ground. Who taught this school, as well as its exact date, cannot be told. We hear nothing more on the subject until 1814, when a school taught by a Mr. Chapman is mentioned: *Vox et preterea nihil.* In 1817, when the population had grown to two hundred and fifty, a school house was built on the lot now occupied by the Kennard House; just how it was built, it is hard to say. This was undoubtedly the first school house built on the site of Cleveland, unless there may have been an earlier one at Newburg or some other of the numerous centres that have been swallowed up by the growth of the city. In this school house children were taught on the payment of tuition fees. The Cleveland Academy, afterwards called the Old Academy, was built by subscription on St. Clair street in 1821. There is no trace of a public school system until the granting of the city charter. The trustees do not appear to have exercised the powers conferred by the acts of 1821 and 1825. The only schools were private schools.

The late S. H. Mather, in a published document, states that in 1833 or 1834 an attempt was made to organize a mission sunday school in the Bethel church; that the children were found so ignorant that proper sunday school teaching was out of the question; and that, to make good this deficiency, a day school was established to teach the children to read, the teacher being paid by voluntary subscription. This school, says Mr. Mather, was continued on this basis until the city, in 1835, assumed the charge of it and made it a city free school. So far as existing records show, the first public expenditure ever made for education in Cleveland was the cost of maintaining this school one year, $131.12. Not a large educational budget surely for a city that has come to expend something like a million dollars annually on its schools!

In 1836 Cleveland became a chartered city. The population was then five thousand. Two sections of the charter related to schools. The Common Council was authorized to levy a tax of not more than one mill on the dollar for the purchase of school sites and building school houses, and an additional mill for the support of a school in each of the three wards into which the city was divided, which should be accessible to all white children not under four years of age; the council should fix by ordinance the beginning and end of the school year, and appoint every year a board called the Board of Managers of the Common Schools, in which the particular administration should rest. This Board should make rules and regulations for the schools, examine and employ teachers, fix their salaries subject to the rules of the Council, make repairs of school houses and furnish supplies, and certify to the Council all expenses incurred in the performance of its duties. On July 7, 1837, the Common Council passed an ordinance in accordance with these sections of the charter, and this ordinance is the real beginning of public schools in Cleveland. The ordinance was drawn on the lines of the charter, only the school year was made four months instead of six. The schools were to provide only elementary education.

The Board of Education built its first public school houses, two in number, in 1839-40. In 1840 there were sixteen teachers and 1,040 pupils. The principal schools were divided into two departments, each department having a boys' school and a girls' school. An academical department, as it was called, or a high school as we should say, was opened in 1846, with Andrew Freese as principal. This school was opposed by some heavy tax payers, and it was never beyond danger until it was authorized by a special act of the Legislature, which came in 1848-49. The West Side High School, of which A. G. Hopkinson was the father, was opened in 1854. The training school went into operation in 1874.

The first superintendence that the schools received was given by a duly elected member of the Board of Managers, called the Acting Manager of the Schools. This form of superintendence lasted from 1841 to 1853. In the latter year Mr. Freese was elected Superintendent, and Dr. E. E. White succeeded him as the head of the High School. Mr. Freese was followed as superintendent by Mr. L. M. Oviatt, he by Rev. Anson Smythe, and he again by Mr. A. J. Rickoff. These gentlemen all devoted themselves with singleness of mind to the work of the schools, and all were rewarded by seeing the fruits of their labors. The pressing school questions of those years all over the country related to organization and system. The Cleveland history supports this view. Mr. Rickoff came to the superintendency in 1867 and held it until 1882. An educator of ripe experience and force of character, and the possessor of the confidence of a strong Board of Education for many years, he impressed himself deeply on the school system of the city. The existing organization is very largely his work. Under his direction the schools came to attract attention from far and near, and, in particular, they called out some glowing enconiums from foreign visitors.

Standing in the relation that it does to the Western Reserve, the City of Cleveland ought to lead in educational matters; and the other towns and cities would generally, if not universally, recognize the fact of such a leadership almost from the beginning of the union school movement.

At first the Board of Education was only a committee appointed by the City Council, but since 1859 it has been elected by the people at the popular election. Once more, the Board was wholly dependent upon the Common Council for funds until 1865; in that year it became fully autonomous, levying and expending its own revenues subject only to the law.

For many years there has been a growing conviction in many American cities, if not indeed in a majority of them, that the business administration of the public schools is getting, or rather has got, into a bad way. The trouble is thought to arise from the character of men who are often elected members of boards of education, from a vicious method of doing business, and from the nature of the business organization of the schools. At least this was the view taken by a great number of citizens of this city; for in response to a popular demand the Legislature passed, in 1892, the Reorganization Act, under which the schools are now carried on. I refer to this act with no purpose of discussing its provisions or of commenting on its operation. My aim is very different. The evils that it was intended to correct have become widespread; the act itself has attracted very general attention; in a sense, it is now on trial before the public, not of Cleveland alone, but of the country; and if experience shall finally prove that it accomplishes the end for which it was devised, Cleveland will become the teacher of the country in the important matter of city school administration.

One who attempts to write the educational history of a state or community is likely to commit the fault of confining himself too closely to professional educators. It is perfectly right that this class of persons should be emphatically recognized. But education has its business side as well as its pedagogical side. Teachers and superintendents alone, no matter how able and devoted, cannot make a school system. Educational discussions too much tend to run on professional lines. Accordingly, I wish to recognize in the heartiest manner the educational services to Ohio of such men as Ephraim Cutler, Rufus King, Samuel Lewis, Harvey Rice, and others; also the service to particular communities of such men as Charles Bradburn and George Willey, of this city, who not only served as members of the School Board for years, but actually did efficient duty as acting managers of the schools.

The decade 1835-45 is an important one in American educational history. It has been called our educational renaissance. In this period Massachusetts created the first State board of education, the first American normal school, and the first efficient State school superintendency, with Horace Mann in the office; Dr. Henry Barnard of Connecticut called the teachers' institute into being; New York established the first public school libraries; Michigan laid the foundation of her educational system on the lines of the Prussian ideas; the City of Providence, R. I., first established the local school superintendency. German influence now began to be felt by American scholars, teachers, and schools. The decade ushered in a period of school renovation, within and without. We shall form the best idea of this period by looking at it under a single phase and by limiting our view to Ohio.

It must be remembered that the largest cities of the State were once small villages, and that a single school answered all purposes. Time added scholars, and therefore called for new schools and new school districts. These schools and school districts were wholly separate and independent in organization and management. The educational world was without form and void and darkness was upon the face of the deep. Such legislation as the Akron school law was enacted to correct this state of things, and under it the organization of city and town schools commenced. The schools of Cincinnati were organized in 1840. The facts in regard to Cleveland have been already related. Dayton, Columbus, Akron, and other towns soon followed the example thus set. The law of 1853 gave the movement a great impulse. The name "union school" or "union schools" came into general use as expressing the prevailing tendency of the new time. If this name is now seldom heard, it is because the great work of unification in the city and town schools has been accomplished. Perhaps the new rural school movement will bring it into use again.

The union movement raised some difficult external problems for legislators, members of boards of education, and superintendents to solve. It also raised some internal problems that were even more difficult. The establishment of a system of grades and the classification of pupils now became a possibility. This possibility involved the evolution of a course of graded study, the adoption of canons and methods of promotion, and the provision of suitable text-books. These problems rested heavily on the hands of such men as Harvey, Henkle, Rickoff, and Cowdery for many years. Some people now believe, perhaps most people, that these problems were solved too successfully. Those who hold this view believe that too much stress came to be laid on system and uniformity. Considering the utter chaos that had reigned, together with the known tendency of the human mind to value machinery, this was in no way strange. Matters were sometimes carried to such a point that the schools of great cities were regularly halted once a month, that the children's minds might be examined, their contents inventoried and tabulated, and reports made to the superintendent's office, there to be compared and systematized. There is now a refluent tide. The peculiar work of that generation of educators has been accomplished, and we are now face to face with a new and a still more difficult series of problems. How shall we find room in our school system for freedom and spontaneity? How shall we adjust the individuality of the child to the necessity of school organization? These are some of the questions of the new era.

At the end of 1869 there was formed in this city the Northeastern Ohio Teachers' Association, which is still in vigorous life. It is not pertinent or necessary to enlarge on the history of this useful society. As soon as formed it plunged into the discussion of some of the most pressing questions of the time. In his inaugural address, Dr. Harvey, who was the first President of the Association, drew attention to several of these questions. He put first on his list a subject that, to my knowledge, has never seriously occupied the attention of the Association from that day to this. Reviewing the history of twenty years, he said while the schools in the towns and cities had made marked progress, and ranged among the best of their kind in the Union, those in the rural districts had not improved as they ought to have done. In some localities, he said, no progress whatever had been made. This subject is now beginning to claim the public attention, and there is some reason to think that we are on the eve of changes in the rural schools quite as striking as those that have been accomplished in the town and city schools. This topic may well be the last one to the treated in this address.

There are obvious difficulties in the way of bringing the country schools to as high a standard as the town and city schools, and it is by no means certain that it can ever be accomplished. Fortunately, however, there are some compensating advantages. One of these difficulties is the sparseness of rural population and the consequent insufficiency of pupils to be handled in the schools, which interferes with expansion and tends to repress interest and enthusiasm. This difficulty has been greatly intensified by the decline of population in many rural districts. For example, every decennial census since 1850 has shown a decline in the population of Geauga county. It is now about twenty-five per cent. less than it was at its maximum. Medina county also fell off for twenty years, but has slightly recovered itself at the last two censuses. Trumbull county lost two thousand five hundred people at the last census. Many townships in counties that have held their own in population, or even gained, have gone the same way. And so it is in many parts of the country: The last census showed that more than four hundred counties in the Union had lost population in ten years for other causes than reduction in size. These losses of population are an important factor, not only in education but also in religious and social life. Many schools once of good size, or even large, have become small; some have actually ceased to exist. Schools of two, three, and five pupils are by no means uncommon on the Reserve. My attention was first called to this subject about twenty-five years ago. A chart showing the size of the schools in different parts of the State prepared by Dr. T. C. Mendenhall formed part of the Ohio exhibit at Philadelphia in 1876. This chart made it very evident that, in this sense, not only parts of Ashtabula county, but parts of other counties, were "benighted." I publicly urged the consolidation of schools as a means necessary to correct the existing evil. Perhaps I may be pardoned for quoting a few sentences from an address that I delivered and published in 1878.

"Centralization is the only remedy for this state of things. There must be fewer school officers, fewer schools, fewer teachers, and more pupils in the schools. You cannot have a fire without fuel or a school without scholars. The Western Reserve Yankee is very conservative. Having always had a school house on the corner of his own or of his neighbor's farm, he cannot reconcile himself to the idea of sending his children three or four miles away. But in many places it must come to that in time; in such towns [as those mentioned] the children will be taught in consolidated schools or not at all. People will not long be so absurd as to keep up a district school for three scholars. When they make up their minds to the inevitable, which is in this case also the desirable, they will find that the necessary steps are both few and short.

It will be found both cheaper and better to carry the children to the distant school than to go on in the old way."

I now hear with no little satisfaction that the Reserve is beginning to move in this direction. The necessary legislation has been procured in several cases, and the schools of several towns have been more or less consolidated. Old buildings are abandoned if necessary and new ones built. The schools and teachers are much reduced in numbers and greatly improved in quality. A competent correspondent in Geauga county writes me as follows: "We carry the children to and from the school when necessary in closed hacks hired at public expense. We get the inspiration that comes from large numbers; we can classify according to advancement of the pupils; we are able to have a much better grade of teachers without any increase of taxes; we secure a more uniform attendance, and the children are never tardy; the instruction is at once better and cheaper." He adds that some people are opposed to the movement (people who are always opposed to new methods to meet changed conditions), but the opinion is spreading that the country district school does not measure up to the educational demands of the time.

This is progress. There is little more reason in having eight or ten district schools in a sparsely populated Ohio or Michigan township than there is in having an equal number of churches.

We have now taken a general survey of the large subject that was set for the hour. We have considered popular education on the Western Reserve, both in its general relations to the educational development of the State and in itself. However imperfect the treatment may have been, I hope the interest and dignity of the theme have at least been made apparent. How very creditable the record is to those who have made it! Nothing in their history does them greater honor. Born on the Reserve, of Connecticut stock; reared and educated here, and living here the greater part of my life; familiar with the history, conditions, and spirit of the people; proud of what has been accomplished on this soil, — I have counted it an honor to be called to participate in the observances that mark the close of one century of history and usher in a new one. Forgetting for the moment my removal from the State, and reasserting my rights as a child of the soil, I mingle my felicitations with yours, that we have behind us so glorious a history. We do well to recount the story of the past, — the sacrifices of the pioneers; the wisdom and constancy of the later founders; the fidelity of a great host of teachers; the educational zeal and intelligence of the public: but we do better resolutely to face the future, determine to do our own work as well as our predecessors have done theirs. If we and those who succeed us shall meet this high demand, then those who gather here a century hence to celebrate the second centennial of the founding of Cleveland and the beginnings of the Western Reserve will see

"Another morn
Risen on mid-noon."

FRANKLINTON — AN HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

BY GENERAL JOHN BEATTY.

A few rods from where we are assembled to-day the waters of the Olentangy unite with those of the Scioto, and together flow down to the Ohio, thence to the Mississippi, and so onward to a gulf of the Atlantic ocean. Southwardly from the place where the two streams meet, there was, at the time to which we propose to refer, a broad, handsome stretch of valley land, where good crops of corn would follow even rude cultivation, where the wild grape, plum and paw-paw could be gathered in their season, and whence it was an easy matter to make forays to the higher lands in quest of such beasts and birds as prefer not to live in close proximity to man, whether he be tame or wild. This suggests, in brief, the field about us as our fathers saw it, but not the incidents, marvelous and otherwise, connected with it.

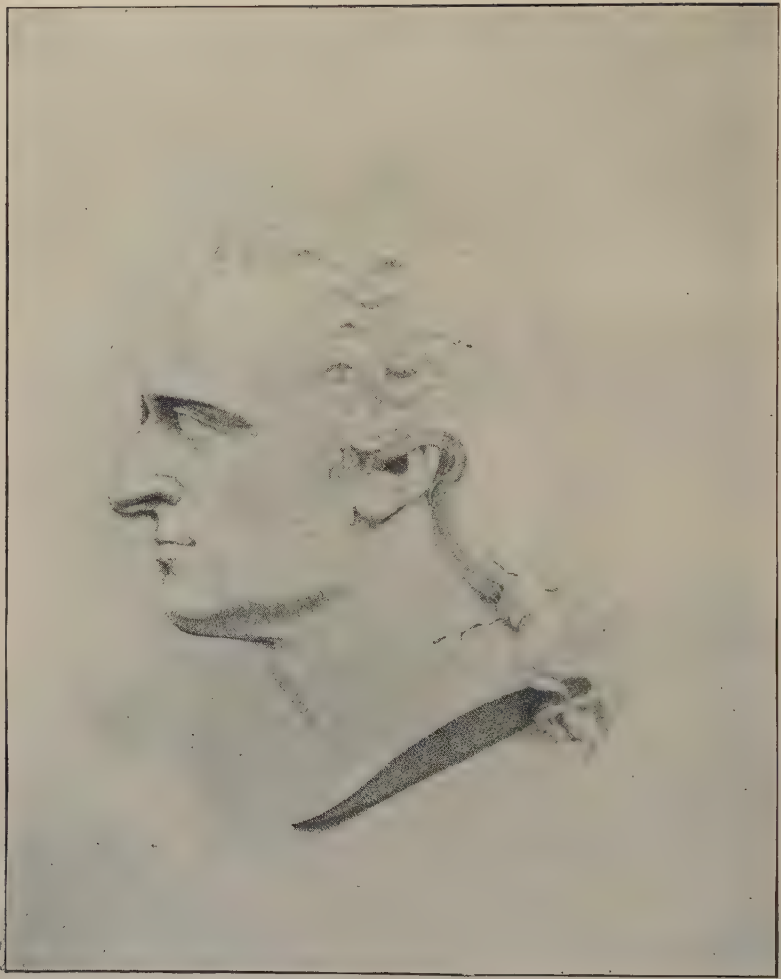
At a time when our ancestors were living in thatched huts on the Rhine, the Thames, the Shannon, or the Tweed, and when even London was an inconsiderable collection of rude houses, a people far advanced in certain lines of civilization established a town near the junction of the Scioto and Olentangy, and built temples and places of sepulture, and worshiped God in a fashion somewhat different from our own, but not greatly dissimilar to that of the old Britons who met for devotional services at Stonehenge.

The Scioto was then a great thoroughfare; its banks dotted with homes and populous villages. That was a thousand — may be three thousand — years ago, and yet the beautiful temple mounds, and mounds of sepulture, which this prehistoric people left behind them — some almost within an arrow's flight from where we stand — have for centuries defied the ravages of time, and now bid fair to continue to exist when the decaying edifices of ancient Greece and Rome shall have finally moldered into dust and forever disappeared.

When and why this people left the Scioto valley, and to what place they journeyed, will always remain matters of conjecture, but the splendid cities and other evidences of high civilization which the Spaniards found in Mexico and Peru suggest, at least, that they moved southward in search of a more genial climate and perhaps more fertile lands.

Then the red Indian came — a race of stalwart men, who spurned fixed habitations, delighted in the freedom and solemn grandeur of great forests, and loved the world as it had come freshly from the hand of the Creator. But even this nomadic people had their favorite places of resort, and their frail abodes were standing near the junction of the Scioto and the Olentangy when the Pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, and the first English colony settled on the James. It can hardly be a stretch of the probabilities to say that a knowledge of these important events at the time of their occurrence, traveled slowly from the seacoast to the interior, and in a somewhat distorted and exaggerated form finally reached those who lived then where we live now. And we may safely assume, also, that the strange news was received by some who heard it, with scornful incredulity, while others pondered over it in awe as if it might betoken a visitation of the gods in winged ships from the happy hunting grounds, to which all good Indians hoped in due time to be translated.

Still many years passed by, and although the old rumors of the coming of the white man with his smoking, thundering, deadly gun, and blade of flashing steel, crystallized at last into absolute certainty, it was yet a far cry, and the savage ear in this remote section grew accustomed to it, and ceased to give it marked attention. At last, however, the day arrived when the skirmish line of advancing civilization, crossing the Alleghanies, entered the valleys of the Ohio and its tributaries and setting up its standards, built stockades and domiciles, and made known its purpose to occupy the land. Then there followed years of desultory warfare in which wives and children were not spared; and this condition of unrest and blood and midnight burnings continued until finally the more intelligent of the native race were made to comprehend that it was a heedless and cruel waste of life to prolong the contest against constantly increasing numbers and so, in patches,



LUCAS SULLIVANT.

rather than in whole, friendly relations were established between the new comers and the old inhabitants.

It was then — just one hundred years ago — that Lucas Sullivant — an Irishman in name and paternal ancestry, a Virginian by birth, a Kentuckian by residence, a civil engineer by profession and a gentleman by instinct and education, founded the town the centennial anniversary of whose birthyear we have gathered here this day to celebrate.

The founding of a town may be an event creditable to the founder and it may not. Paper towns, and towns which perished in infancy, or struggled on to a dilapidated old age, may be heard of or seen in almost every section of our country. It is the prophetic discrimination of the founder which alone renders the act of founding a matter worthy of consideration. In other words, the wisdom of the man as demonstrated by the merit and success of the enterprise he originates, is the true measure of the credit to which he is entitled. It was Lucas Sullivant's desire, doubtless, to build the town on his own land, but he could have done this by putting it miles further west or south, for he was the possessor of many acres. The motive which prompted him, however, in the selection of a site was doubtless the same which thousands of years before had been decisive with the prehistoric people to whom reference has been made, and this may be said also of the founders of Marietta, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Newark and most of the towns of central and southern Ohio. It has been suggested that it was Mr. Sullivant's intention to build his town as nearly as possible in the center of the state, with the hope that it might ultimately become a nucleus for the state's capital; but it is hardly probable a consideration of this kind moved him, for state lines at that time had not been defined. The land he owned was simply a part of the northwest territory and this included what subsequently became Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin.

But let Mr. Sullivant's incentive to action have been what it may, the fact remains that he planted his prospective city at the confluence of the Scioto and the Olentangy, and in honor of an illustrious American then but recently deceased, named it Franklinton.

At that time the war of the revolution had been ended but 14 years. The seat of the national government was at Philadelphia. John Adams had just succeeded Washington as president. Arthur St. Clair was governor of the northwest territory. The Scioto river was the boundary line between Washington county on the east, with its seat of justice at Marietta, and Hamilton county on the west, with its seat of justice at Cincinnati. There were Indian trails through the great forest, but no roads. Ebenezer Zane, however, was engaged in the work of opening a road from Wheeling, Virginia, to Maysville, Kentucky, but "Zane's trace", as it was called, was 40 miles south of Franklinton, and the first settler in what is now Fairfield county, Captain Joseph Hunter, did not travel over it until 1798. Putnam and Tupper had established a colony at the mouth of the Muskingum. There was a remnant of a deceived and despondent colony of French at Gallipolis. Inconsiderable settlements had been made between the Miamis on what was known as the Symmes purchase. There were settlements opposite Wheeling in what is now Belmont county, and the year before the time of which I speak the avant couriers of a Connecticut colony had built cabins at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river. Chillicothe was a town of 40 log cabins, but in what are now known as the counties of Delaware, Licking, Union, Madison, and Fayette, there was not, so far as I can ascertain, a single white man. The environment of Mr. Sullivant's proposed town, therefore, was not such as to afford him great encouragement, and it required an exceedingly lively imagination to leap forward to the time when it should become a part of a populous and important city.

Providence, however, seems to delight in taking some folks by the hand and leading them blindfolded to success. We see this truth made manifest in business, in war, and in politics, and I think Mr. Sullivant was one of the favored few who builded better than they knew. But let this be as it may, here he built his home, and a few years later brought to it a young wife, who by blood and marriage was allied to the more prominent families of Virginia and Kentucky and whose paternal ancestor had been a baronet in England, and lord mayor of London.

I know too much of the narrow economies and deprivations of pioneer life to wholly excuse Lucas Sullivant for thus taking a young woman from a comfortable home, the companionship of a wide circle of relatives, and the delightful adjuncts of a long established and well ordered community, and bringing her to such a place as Franklinton was then, and yet our hearts swell with admiration as we reflect that only a devoted and brave wife would accompany her husband to a solitude where in the shadow of the forest when the night shut down, the world would have seemed blotted out but for the complaining voices of wild beasts, and the ever present fear that the thick darkness concealed savage foes who might at any moment resort to violence. But it may be said some were called upon to make such sacrifices, and this is true. Grateful thanks, therefore, not to Sarah Starling alone, but to other heroic wives as well, who did not hesitate to follow the standards of civilization to new fields, and by their grace and beauty adorn and brighten the rude homes of the wilderness.

Lucas Sullivant was in person of medium height, with a good head, acquiline nose, blue-gray eyes, and a chin and mouth popularly supposed to be indicative of firmness and decision. When he made the preliminary survey of the site for Franklinton, he was just thirty-two years old, and hence in the prime and vigor of early manhood. His sons were all taller and heavier than himself, and in these particulars resembled the Lynes and Starlings. His grandchildren were in face at least, if not in height and weight, unlike him also. But strange to say — and yet it should be said in confirmation of a theory with respect to the transmission of ancestral traits — one of his great-grandsons is in stature and facial features his exact counterpart. Mr. Sullivant's sons were all strong men, both in mind and body. Indeed, it can be no exaggeration to affirm that the eldest of the three, William Starling Sullivant, is entitled to high rank among the greater Americans of the past century. He was graduated at Yale in 1823. The council of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences pronounced him "the most accomplished bryologist which this country had ever produced", and the distinguished botanist, Dr. Asa Gray, said: "His works have laid such a broad and complete foundation for the study of bryology in this country, and are of such recognized importance everywhere, that they must always be of classic authority." In brief, Mr. William S. Sullivant's contributions to the science of botany are so valuabe that they can be found to-day in all the great libraries of the world. He was born here, and as the dead live, he is still Franklinton's most accomplished son.

The great beauty and unsurpassed natural advantages which sanguine men invariably discover in their own broad acres, prompted Mr. Lucas Sullivant to lay out a site for his prospective town on an exceedingly liberal scale. Indeed, I think when he had completed his surveys and drawn his maps the land embraced within its boundaries would have accomodated the village population of the entire northwest territory. But the next spring's floods suggested to him that until dikes were built it would be well to modify his plans, and restrict the purchasers, he so confidently expected, to the higher grounds. This he did and then with a display of generosity which must have elicited much quiet but good natured laughter from the few sensible pioneers who had come to look about them for a place to settle down, he offered lots on Gift street as a gratuity to those who would accept them as a place of residence. At that time good land could be bought at from one dollar to two dollars an acre, and consequently Mr. Sullivant's lots on Gift street were not worth to exceed fifty cents a piece, and if recording fees were as high in that day as they are in this, the man who should avail himself of Mr. Sullivant's beneficence would at the end of the transaction be out of pocket a full dollar. For this and other obvious reasons neither the lots on Gift, nor any other street in Franklinton, found eager takers. Even John Brickell, a lad of sixteen, who had spent four years in captivity with the Indians, and who was among the first to reach the town, took abundant time to consider Mr. Sullivant's proposition, and then exhibited the excellent sense with which nature had endowed him, by buying a tract of elevated ground near where the penitentiary now stands.

In 1802 Ohio became a state of the federal union, with its temporary capital at Chillicothe, and in the year following Edward Tiffin was elected governor. Franklin county was organized in 1803, enclosing a broader area than it does at present, and Franklinton was made its seat of justice. In 1804 a log jail was built in the new county seat, and in 1807 a court house erected. Still Franklinton did not prosper and become populous. It should be said, however, that no western towns save those situated on the lakes and great rivers, increased in population rapidly from 1800 to 1850. In that period railroads had not made transit from the seaboard to the interior cheap and easy, and hence only the more stalwart and energetic ventured to encounter the discomforts and perils incident to a long journey through the wilderness. The first comers were as a rule the best. I doubt if there can now be found among the 175,000 residents of Franklin county a single man superior in education and intellectual strength to many of the settlers of that early day. Bishop Philander Chase, Colonel James Kilbourne and Salmon P. Chase were then at Worthington. Judge Gustavus Swan, Lyne Starling, Dr. Lincoln Goodale, the Reverend Dr. James Hoge, General Joseph Foos, the Sullivants and the McDowells were in Franklinton or in its vicinity. Where shall we find better blood, brighter intellects, or braver hearts than they possessed? Certainly not here, and I think not elsewhere in Ohio. Judge Gustavus Swan has left us a graphic picture of the country at that early period, and one suggestive of the deprivations to which its people were subjected.

"When I opened my office in Franklinton in 1811," he says, "there was neither church nor school-house, nor pleasure carriage in the county; nor was there a bridge over any stream within the compass of a hundred miles. The roads at all seasons were nearly impassable, there was not in the county a chair for every two inhabitants, nor a knife and fork for every four."

What a valuable lesson this should suggest! We now complain about hard times; what sort of times were those when merchandise was brought up the Scioto from the Ohio in barges and canoes—when men burned holes in stumps where women and children might pound corn for the midday dinner—when the most estimable of wives in writing back to her old home said, "We shall occupy one room this winter as my husband must make use of the other for a shop." Hard times! The truth is the people of this generation in Ohio have been indulged and pampered until, like babes, they whimper when the nursing bottle happens for a moment to be withdrawn. Where now is that knightly spirit of the fathers which prompted them to seek new fields of enterprise, and that admirable stoicism which would brook no murmurs of complaint? It may be said all good fields are now occupied, but the saying would be false, for lands as fertile as those around us are more accessible to-day than the Scioto valley was to the fathers one hundred years ago and they are as low in price as Ohio lands were then, and as easily made valuable by settlement and cultivation.

In 1805 Lyne Starling, a Virginian by birth, just 21 years old and six feet seven inches in height, came to Franklinton, and a few years later, forming a partnership with his brother-in-law, Mr. Lucas Sullivant, opened a general store. Mr. Starling's head was, I think, fully as long as his body, for in 1809 he bought land on the east bank of the Scioto, and in 1810 entertained strong expectations of getting the State Capital located either on it, or in its immediate vicinity. Franklinton, Worthington and Dublin were each struggling for the honor of becoming the seat of the State government, with the chances decidedly against the former, because of the low ground upon which it was situated. At one time Dublin seemed to be the favored place, and at another time Worthington, but the proprietors of the elevated land on the east bank of the Scioto opposite Franklinton were by no means lacking in either vigilance, enterprise or tact, and uniting in a proposition to the State they succeeded in securing its acceptance, and the selection of their land as the site of the prospective city. Lyne Starling, John Kerr, Alexander McLaughlin and James Johnston were the prime actors and beneficiaries in the successful undertaking; but it is more than probable that Worthington would have won the prize if Mr. Lucas Sullivant, General Joseph Foos, and other citizens of Franklinton, who then thought they had but little if any pecuniary interest in the matter, had not finally come actively and earnestly to the assistance of the Starling syndicate.

The future seat of the State government was by law established at Columbus in 1812, but the act was passed and the city named when the site on which it was to be built was simply a densely wooded tract without even a good wagon road through it, and with hardly a clearing or a cabin on it. It was not until

1816 that public buildings were completed, and made ready for the reception of the State officials. But between the time when the legislative act was passed fixing the site of the capital, and the date of its occupancy, Franklinton for a year or more reached a higher degree of prosperity than it had ever previously attained. The war of 1812 was in progress and Hull's surrender at Detroit left the isolated settlements open to the assaults of not only the British, but of their savage, merciless allies. The dispersed and exposed white families of Ohio, therefore, were for a time in abject terror. Settlers from Delaware, Worthington, Dublin and the surrounding country hurried to Franklinton as to a place of refuge and safety; defensive preparations in the way of ditches and stockades were begun in the vicinity of the court house, but the panic subsiding, they were never completed. Then it was that Franklinton became a place of gathering for troops, and a base of supplies for the Western Army, and in it the roll of the drum and shrill notes of the fife became unremitting. Troops from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Tennessee—foot, horse and dragoon—came marching into the village under flying colors, were rested and supplied, and then went marching on to the Maumee. Ohio recruits assembled here, were organized into companies, hastily taught a few simple military movements, and sent forward to the scene of hostilities. Seven hundred men under the gallant Colonel Campbell left the town on horseback, fought a winning battle with Indians at Munceytown, and obtained as their reward a congratulatory order issued by General William Henry Harrison from his headquarters at Franklinton. Parades and reviews took place on the public square in the presence of the commanding general and his excellency Governor Return Jonathan Meigs. General Lewis Cass visited the town, and General Perkins and General Beall and the chivalrous Governor Shelby, of Kentucky. The gallant General Leftwich marched into it at the head of a brigade of brave Virginians, and then in good time marched out again. Colonel Anderson came also, leading a regiment of Tennesseeans, accompanied by General Harrison, then on his return from Cincinnati. General Joseph Foos and Captain Vance, both Franklinton men and good officers, were at the head of Franklin county soldiers, and were quick either to lead or follow, and eager for battle. It was within a few rods of where we stand that General Harrison held his conference with the Delawares, Wyandots and Senecas—when mothers, with babes in their arms, looking upon the scene trembled with anxiety and suspense. Then a great shout of gladness went up from strong men, and thankful prayers from women, when Tarhe, the great Wyandot, announced that the tribes represented in the council would stand as a barrier between hostile Indians and the wives and children of the settlers, while husbands and fathers were absent on the border fighting the British and their allies.

It was here, alas! that a poor wretch—a despondent and homesick man, may be, or one weary of the dull routine of military life, and desperate, was shot to death for the crime of desertion, and it was here also that another—a young boy, perhaps—convicted of the same offense and sentenced to die, was led to his coffin, blindfolded, and then, thank heaven! reprieved. Of course, in war discipline must be maintained, and examples must be set, and army regulations enforced, and military law upheld, and the orders of commanding officers obeyed; but God help the poor boy whose heart strings draw him home. He may be as brave as Julius Cæsar, and yet in a moment of despondency, or under the goadings of a personal grievance, risk all for a chance of reaching sympathetic friends, and sitting by the family fireside again.

It was in the fields about us that Captain Cushing's battery boomed now and then upon the receipt of encouraging grapevine dispatches from the front, and then a little later, the whole town went wild with joy, and every gun thundered, and every flag waved proudly, and every man stood more erect, and every woman smiled with moist eyes and grateful heart, when the news came that that Kentucky boy, George Croghan, had won a splendid victory at Fort Stephenson, and thereby achieved immortality. Then in time came Perry's victory on Lake Erie, the taking of Malden, and Harrison's great triumph over Proctor and Tecumseh on the Thames. And then it was that captured British soldiers were conducted through Franklinton to Chillicothe, and by this time the war was virtually over in the West, and a little later it was wholly ended and Mrs. Lucas Sullivant exclaimed: "Thank God!"

When the war closed the glory of Franklinton disappeared. It then became a dull, uninteresting hamlet, occupied as Judge William T. Martin in his history of Franklin county tells us, mainly by "farmers and laborers who * * * worked Mr. Sullivant's extensive prairie fields," or labored in the stone quarries. "The proportion of rough population," writes another, "was very large." But even the rough population referred to consisted of strong men and stubborn fighters, who had an element of rugged justice in their hearts, which prompted them to wage fair battles. The old residents tell us of Billy Wyandot, an Indian who pursued a bear to the middle of the Scioto, killed it, and then brought its carcass to the shore. This was a fair display of the brutal courage of the time, but it was perhaps excelled by a white man named Corbus, who, having occasion to meet a bear in combat, cast aside his weapons so that the bear's friends should be unable to claim he took unfair advantage of the beast, and then in a hand to claw, square, stand-up rough and tumble fight to the death, he came off finally with the honors of victory. These men were not what are called society people, and were not profound in their knowledge of theological dogmas, and they entertained withal peculiar notions with respect to dietary matters, and believed corn whisky better for the human stomach than river water, but notwithstanding all this they fought fair fights, and asked odds of nobody. Let us, therefore, hope that Billy Wyandot and his bear and Jacob Corbus and his bear are living together to-day in royal good fellowship on that happy shore which lies beyond a river broader and murkier than the Scioto.

But I am detaining you too long, and must conclude with a brief summary of facts.

Judge Martin, in speaking of Franklin township in 1848, says: "The town of Franklinton has not varied much in population and business for forty years." The census reports show that in 1840 it contained only 394 inhabitants, while Worthington at that time had 440. Franklinton was never an incorporated town, and never had either mayor, marshal or board of council-men; indeed it never had a government nor an existence separate, apart and independent of Franklin township. In 1824 it ceased to be the seat of justice for Franklin county. Its last postmaster, appointed in 1831, served for a few years, and then the postoffice was discontinued. The territory included within the limits of the town, and that south and west of it, were annexed to the City of Columbus from time to time, as follows: In 1862, the territory as far west as Lucas street; in 1870 the territory south of Town street, as far west as Sandusky street, and north of Town west as far as Darby street; in 1888 the territory as far west as Central avenue, between Sullivant avenue on the south, and the P., C., C. & St. L. Railroad on the north, and in 1891 other parts of Franklin township were taken into the city, making its western boundary the (Sullivant) county road and Hague avenue.

It may be said that if Lucas Sullivant had not founded Franklinton the capital of the State would not have been located where it is, and this is true. Franklinton on the west bank of the Scioto in 1810-12 called attention to the high ground on the east bank, and at the same time supplied a party of shrewd, energetic and interested men to urge its acceptance by the State, and still with all the influence the Franklinton syndicate could bring to bear upon the General Assembly it came very near losing the prize it was so eager to obtain. The committee appointed by the Legislature to examine the country within a certain area, and recommend a site, reported in favor of Dublin, and subsequently pledges were secured from a majority of the members of the General Assembly in favor of Worthington; but finally after a long struggle the high bank opposite Franklinton was chosen. Worthington lost by a hair and Columbus won by a scratch. Time, however, which makes many, if not all things even, will soon do for Worthington what it has done for Franklinton, namely, bring it within the boundaries of the Capital City. And ultimately the picturesque region on the Scioto in the vicinity of Dublin will become an elegant suburb of Columbus, but thirty minutes' ride by electric cars from the State House.

The changes which have taken place within the past one hundred years are marvelous. The first generation planted; the second watered, and the third gathered in a bountiful harvest. What the next three generations to follow us may accomplish, and what their harvest will be, only infinite wisdom can foretell. The intervals of time between the eldest here to-day, and the fathers of a hundred years ago, and the youngest and those of a hundred years to come, seem so short that we are prompted to cry to those who have gone before us thanks and farewell, and then with anxious but hopeful hearts bid those who shall gather here a century hence, hail and godspeed!

THE OHIO INDIANS.

ADDRESS AT FRANKLINTON CENTENNIAL BY COL. E. L. TAYLOR, SEPTEMBER 15, 1897.

We are engaged to-day in celebrating an event of a hundred years ago which was then apparently unimportant, but which has led on to great and permanent results. A hundred years ago a few intelligent and determined white men settled here in the then unbroken wilderness, which settlement soon became and has ever since remained the center of a far-pervading salutary influence. It was one of the important and permanent steps toward reducing to cultivation and civilization the great wilderness of the Northwest, of which Ohio was a part. When we look abroad and behold the wondrous transformation which has taken place since Lucas Sullivant and his few associates built their cabins near this spot, our minds are filled with amazement at the results, and our hearts with thankfulness and gratitude to Him who has so wisely guided and bounteously blest us as a community and a people. This event was the beginning of the settlement of Central Ohio and the foundation of the present City of Columbus, which now embraces the town of Franklinton. If there had been no Franklinton there would have been no Columbus; and so those few rude cabins have within a hundred years developed into a great and properous city with its trade and commerce and thousands of happy homes.

The celebration of this event will be of ever increasing interest as the centuries go by. It marked a new and most important era in the history of Ohio and particularly in that of Franklin and adjoining counties. It was but eleven years before the settlement of Franklinton that so intelligent a statesman as James Monroe, after a visit to the then wilderness of Ohio for the purpose of informing himself as accurately as possible as to the character and condition of the Northwest territory, wrote to Thomas Jefferson as follows:

"A great part of the territory is miserably poor, especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie; and that upon the Missis-

HARRISON'S HEADQUARTERS.

sippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had, from appearances, and will not have, a single bush on them for ages. The districts, therefore, within which these fall, will, perhaps, never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy (of states) and in the meantime the people who may settle within them will be governed by the resolutions of Congress, in which they will not be represented."

The territory referred to by Mr. Monroe included what is now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. At that time there were no permanent settlements by the white race within all this vast territory, and with the exception of a few French traders and a few captives among the Indians, there were within it no white people. It was an unclaimed and unbroken wilderness. Within this territory there are now five of the most populous and prosperous states in the Union, containing half a hundred cities, and many hundreds of prosperous town and villages, and a population of fifteen millions of people living under conditions of prosperity and happiness, of morality and intelligence not surpassed by any community of equal magnitude which has ever existed in the history of the world.

For all of this we should rejoice and be exceedingly glad, but in our rejoicing we must not forget that other peoples and other races once occupied this territory and here lived and energized for many centuries—possibly for several thousands of years—before the advent of the white man. It is concerning these, our immediate predecessors, the Indians, and their manner of life that I have been requested to speak to-day.

* * * *

We are too apt to think of the Indian as a lurking, dangerous, unrelenting savage, infesting the forest and living without laws or restrictions of any kind, and with no intentions but of evil. This view is both erroneous and unjust. It is true that they were alert and dangerous as enemies when once they were made enemies, but when we shall have learned a broader charity, and truth instead of prejudice and fiction shall be recorded as history, it will be found that the Indian has not always been the aggressor, and was not by nature the cruel savage as generally assumed and represented. We, the white people, have written all the history so far, but a more impartial review will yet be made when it will appear that the cruel and vindictive acts of the Indians were largely the result of the cruel and vindictive acts of the white men. They were not at worst more fierce or savage than many of the white men with whom they came in contact; and in truth they could not have been, for history records no darker or bloodier crimes than those which have been committed by our race against the Indian tribes. The massacre of the Moravian Indians in 1782 on the soil of Ohio in the now county of Tuscarawas, and the murder of Chief Cornstalk and his son Elenipsies in 1777 at Point Pleasant, will always remain among the darkest, most dreadful and disgraceful pages in American history. A thousand other atrocities of various natures shame and disgrace the history of our contact with the Indian tribes whom we call savages, and largely rob us of the right to claim superiority over them, save in the matter of education and physical force.

They had no written laws, but they had rules of tribal and family government, which had all the force of laws. They had no written language and but a limited vocabulary, but many of them were gifted with marvelous eloquence of speech; and it would be easy to cite among their reported speeches numerous examples of eloquence, which except for want of classic form would rank little below the best efforts of the best English-speaking orators. They had neither courts nor judges, but they dealt justly with each other and guarded individual rights with jealous care. They had no military schools, but they developed brave and skillful warriors, and the names of Pontiac, Tecumseh, Crane, Cornstalk, Solamon and many other chiefs will remain a permanent part of the history of the long and bloody contests between the Indian tribes and white men for the possession of the territory of the great Northwest.

At the time of the first settlement along the New England and New Jersey shores by the white man that portion of the country was occupied by the Algonquin linguistic family, divided however into many tribes or clans. The entire territory of New York and the territory immediately around the borders of Lake

Erie, including a portion of northern Ohio, was occupied by the Iriquois family. Both of these linguistic families had many subdivisions of tribes, but all the tribes of the same family spoke substantially the same language. The encroachments of the white man from our Eastern shores westward gradually drove the Algonquin Indians to the west and they were thus compelled to seek new territory whereon to settle, and in doing so they necessarily impinged upon other tribes, particularly upon the Iriquois. This brought on wars which greatly disturbed the original conditions of the tribes and wrought great changes both in their numbers and locations. These conflicts were further complicated by wars between the French upon one side and the English upon the other, as these two nations were for a long period of time actively contending for dominion on this continent. The result of all this was broken and disseminated tribes of both the Algonquin and the Iriquois families, some of which found lodgment in various portions of Ohio.

Our immediate predecessors in the occupancy of Ohio were the Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares and Ottaways of the Algonquin linguistic family; and the Wyandots and Mingos of the Iriquois linguistic family. There were also in the eastern and northeastern part of the State a few of the Senecas and Tuscarawas, who were of the Iriquois family. Their occupancy, however, was for hunting purposes and temporary in character, their permanent homes being farther east in New York and northern Pennsylvania. Their tribal relations were with the Six Nations of the Iriquois. In the early part of this century some of the Senecas broke away from their original tribal relations and settled near Sandusky, within the territory claimed by the Wyandots. They were inconsiderable both in numbers and influence, and came into Ohio after the formation of the State, and cannot therefore be considered as having an original occupancy of the country.

The Mingos were but a small tribe, a branch of the Iriquois which formerly occupied the eastern portion of the State near Steubenville, and later settled upon the banks of the Scioto where the City of Columbus now stands. They had but three small villages; one in front of and south from where the Ohio Penitentiary now stands; another was at the west end of the Harrisburg bridge where the City Work House is now located and the other was near the east end of what is called the Green Lawn Avenue bridge. Logan was their most noted chief and at one time possessed great influence not only over his own but all the other tribes northwest of the Ohio.

The Delawares came from the region of the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers in Pennsylvania and settled for a time along the Muskingum and later upon the Auglaize in northwestern Ohio on territory claimed by the Miamis and Wyandots. Later still they moved from the Auglaize to the White River in Indiana, which is a branch of the Wabash. They were at one time before they came to Ohio conquered by the five nations of Iriquois and called women and reduced to the grade of women; but after their advent in Ohio they showed themselves to be brave in war and skillful in the chase and in part redeemed their reputation and standing with the other tribes.

The Shawnees, after wandering over a wide extent of territory, including the States of Florida, Georgia and Tennessee, from which country they were driven by the Creeks and Seminoles and other Southern tribes, made their lodgment in Ohio along the lower Scioto in what is now Pickaway and Ross counties and sought the protection of the Miamis and Delawares. At this time Black Hoof was their principal chief, but later at the battle of "fallen timbers," in August, 1794, Blue Jacket was chief in authority of this tribe. They were exceedingly restless and aggressive, and constantly annoyed the early settlers in Virginia and Kentucky, and it was as against this tribe that the military expedition of Lord Dunmore in 1774 was particularly directed. When he had reached the Scioto about seven miles south from where Circleville now stands, the Indians sued for peace and the celebrated conference took place by which the Shawnees agreed not to again hunt or conduct marauding expeditions south of the Ohio. The Mingoes did not attend that conference, and while Lord Dunmore's main army was centered in Pickaway county, he sent a detachment under Captain Crawford to destroy the Mingo towns where Columbus now stands. Of this expedition the late Joseph Sullivant, in his most excellent address before the pioneers of Franklin county in 1871, narrates that he had often heard from Jonathan Alder, who had been long a captive among the Indians, but who in after years lived upon the Darby in this county, and with whom Mr. Sullivant had a close personal acquaintance, that he (Alder) had heard from the Indians that "in the fall of 1774, when all the male Indians of the neighboring villages, except a few old men had gone on their first fall hunt, one day about noon the village was surprised by the sudden appearance of a body of armed white men, who immediately commenced firing upon all whom they could see. Great consternation and panic ensued and the inhabitants fled in every direction. One of the Indian women seized her child of five or six years of age and rushed down the bank of the river and across to the wooded island opposite, when she was shot down at the farther bank. The child was unhurt amid the shower of balls and escaped into the thicket and hid in a huge hollow sycamore standing in the middle of the island, where it was found alive two days afterwards when the warriors of the tribe returned, having been summoned back to the scene of disaster by runners sent for that purpose. This wooded and shady island was a favorite place for us boys when we went swimming and fishing, and I have no doubt but that the huge sycamore is well remembered by many besides myself."

This seems to have virtually ended the Mingos as a separate tribe or as a tribe of influence. They were not of the tribes who were parties to the treaty of Greenville in 1795, although all the important tribes northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi were parties to that treaty. However, at that time there were some of the Mingos still living along the head waters of Mad River in what is now Champaign and Logan counties, which territory belonged to the Miamis and the Mingos had no territorial right therein.

* * * *

The Ottawas formerly occupied the region of the Ottawa river of Canada, which empties into the St. Lawrence at Montreal, and which still retains the name of that tribe. From this region they were driven westward to the northern portion of Michigan, afterwards to the region of Green Bay, Wisconsin, still later being driven from one place to another by the Iriquois a fragment of the tribe at last settled in Ohio in the country of the Maumee. They joined in the treaty of Greenville, August 3d, 1795. They had long been considered a cowardly tribe; yet they produced the great Pontiac, who was beyond question the greatest of Indian chiefs and warriors of which we have any accurate knowledge.

* * * *

The Miamis occupied all the western portion of Ohio, all of Indiana and a large portion of what is now the State of Illinois. This tribe had long occupied that territory and were once the most numerous and powerful of the tribes in the Northwest. They had no tradition of ever having lived in any other portion of the country and so they must have occupied this territory for many generations. Their principal villages were along the head waters of the two Miamis of the Ohio, and the Miami of the Lake (now the Maumee) and along the waters of the Wabash in Indiana as far south as the vicinity of Vincennes. At the time of the treaty of Greenville they had been greatly reduced in numbers and in power, but were the oldest occupants of the Ohio territory.

* * * *

The Wyandots were a branch of the Hurons, and when first met with by the French explorers along the St. Lawrence, occupied the vast peninsula embraced between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie on the east and south, and Lake Huron on the west.

Early in the seventeenth century a fierce and unrelenting war broke out between the Hurons and the Iriquois. The Hurons had been furnished with fire-arms by the French, and the Iriquois by the Hollanders, which inaugurated among the Indians a new instrument and a new mode of warfare. The result was unexpectedly and overwhelmingly in favor of the Iriquois; and the Hurons were driven from the line of the St. Lawrence and the country of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie over to the eastern shore of Lake Huron and to the Manitoulin Islands in Georgian Bay. But the aggressions of the Iriquois did not cease there and the Hurons were ultimately driven further north and west to the region of northern Lake Michigan and western Lake Superior. They were afterwards collected and concentrated largely about the Straits of Mackinac, and later still found their way down Lake Huron and took possession of the country from Lake St. Clair south along the Detroit river, across Lake Erie to the mouth of the Sandusky river, thence up that river to the ridge of the State in Wyandot, Marion and Crawford counties, in which territory they had their principal villages.

They extended their occupance of the country south as far at least as the Shawnee settlements on the lower Scioto. They hunted and trapped along all the streams between the Little Miami and the Muskingum. They also expanded to the west of this general line along the southern shore of Lake Erie as far as the Maumee river; and to the east almost if not quite to the eastern boundary of the State, which last region had once been the home of the Eries, but they had before this time been exterminated by the Iriquois. Lake Erie obtained its name from that tribe and still retains the same, although the tribe has long been exterminated.

The Miamis claimed the right of possession in the territory between the Scioto and the Miamis, and they were at one time in possession of and entitled to the same but in time the Wyandots seemed to have been accorded the right thereto.

The main villages of the Wyandots were near the present city of Detroit and along the line of the Sandusky river, their principal settlement being in Wyandot county, Ohio, where Upper Sandusky now stands.

The Wyandots were admitted to be the leading tribe among the Indians in the territory of the Northwest. To them was intrusted the grand *calumet* which united all the tribes in that territory in a confederacy for mutual protection and gave them the right to assemble the tribes in council and to kindle the council fires. This confederation included in addition to the tribes before mentioned the Kickapoos and Potawatamies, who lived about Lake Michigan, and the Chippewas of the upper lake region. Their entire military strength however was not to exceed 3,000 warriors at the time of the treaty of Greenville in 1795, although their strength had been much greater at a former period.

General Harrison in his address before the Historical Society of Cincinnati in 1839, speaking of the Wyandots, says:

"Their bravery has never been questioned, although there was certainly a considerable difference between the several tribes in this rspect. With all but the Wyandots flight in battle when meeting with unexpected resistance or obstacles brought with it no disgrace. It was considered a principle of tactics. With the Wyandots it was otherwise. Their youths were taught to consider anything that had the appearance of an acknowledgment of the superiority of an enemy as disgraceful. In the battle of the Miami Rapids of thirteen chiefs of that tribe who were present only one survived and he was badly wounded."

This battle, which is generally known as the battle of "fallen timbers," was farreaching in its results favorable to the conquests of the Northwest by the white man. It is here worthy of remark that at this battle two of the most remarkable men of their time first came in conflict, namely William Henry Harrison, then a young officer, and Tecumseh, then a young warrior. These men were destined to be in contact and conflict for more than twenty years and until Tecumseh met his death at the battle of the Thames, October 5th, 1813, where he was in command of the Indian forces allied with the English under Proctor and General Harrison was in command of the American forces.

It is further related of the Wyandots that when General Wayne was in command of the Army of the Northwest in 1793, he instructed Captain Wells, who commanded a company of scouts and who had previously been long a captive with the Indians, to go to Sandusky and bring in a prisoner for the purpose of obtaining information. Captain Wells replied that he "could bring in a prisoner, but not from Sandusky, because there were none but Wyandots at Sandusky and they would not be taken alive." (Historical Society of Ohio, Vol. 1, page 266.)

The Chief Sachem of the Wyandots as far back as the treaty of the Muskingum (Marietta, June 9, 1789), was Tarhe (the Crane), who was even at that remote period the most influential chief of his tribe, and continued to be such until the time of his death, which was subsequent to the peace of 1814. He was the leading spirit at the treaty of Greenville and used his great influence to secure the ratification of that treaty by the various tribes, and continued his efforts and influence in behalf of peace at every treaty and conference to which his tribe was a party, down to the conference with General Harrison at Franklinton, June 21, 1813, and until his death. He never lost his influence either with his own or other tribes with whom they were in confederation. He was a wise, just and honorable chief and at all times sought to subserve the best and truest interests of both the Indian and the white race and commanded the respect and confidence of both.

Another chief of the Wyandots who had great wisdom and firmness, and so great influence with his tribe was Sha-Tey-Ya-Ron-Yah (Leatherlips). So great was his influence with the Sandusky Wyandots it was deemed by the Prophet and other turbulent spirits that he should be gotten out of the way, and so they had him executed June 1st, 1810. The pretence was witchcraft; but the real cause was the stand he took with his tribe to prevent the war which Tecumseh and the Prophets were then endeavoring to bring about between the Indians and the British on one side, and the Americans upon the other, It was simply a political murder. The virtues of this honorable chief have been commemorated by a suitable monument erected by the Wyandot Club of Columbus in 1888 on the spot where he was executed.

* * * *

These northern tribes of which we have been making mention had long been at enmity and war with the tribes south of the Ohio, particularly with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Catawbas, and many were the fierce conflicts which took place between these warring people. In the traditions which the Miamis give of their own history they state that they had been at war with the Cherokees and Chickasaws for so long a period of time that they had no account of any time when there had been peace between them.

I refer to this particularly to-day as we are assembled on the banks of the Scioto, which was for centuries one of the important military highways over and along which the northern tribes traveled in their numerous war expeditions against the tribes south of the Ohio. The importance of this river as a highway for the Indians in former times can only be understood and appreciated by remembering its direction and its physical relations to other streams and waters. If we draw a line directly from the mouth of the Scioto north to the mouth of the Sandusky River it will practically parallel the Scioto as far north as the center of Marion county; thence it will lead over the divide or ridge of the State and follow the general line of the Sandusky River to its mouth where it empties into the Sandusky Bay. Continuing the line further north across Lake Erie it will lead directly to the mouth of the Detroit River, by which all the waters of the Great Northern Lakes are reached. From the mouth of the Detroit River there is a chain of islands in sight one of another which stretch entirely across Lake Erie to Sandusky Bay and the mouth of the Sandusky River, and this was the route of the Indians across Lake Erie in fair weather. These islands afforded lodging places in the case of sudden storms and bad weather and so made it comparatively safe for the Indians to cross Lake Erie in their canoes in the summer season, which was the season when they went to war and on their marauding expeditions. So it will be seen that nature had provided a direct water way from the Northern Lakes to the Ohio River by way of the Sandusky and the Scioto over which the operations of war and the avocations of the chase were carried on for centuries by the Indians, and probably at a still more remote period by other races of men who preceded them in the occupation of this portion of the country.

* * * *

As illustrating the fierce nature of the conflicts between the tribes north of the Ohio and those south of it in times past, it is an important fact that no tribes lived along the banks of that river or permanently occupied the contiguous territory. The Ohio as it flowed through the wilderness was and has always been considered one of the most beautiful rivers on the globe and its banks presented every allurement to, and advantage of permanent occupation. Yet, there was not on it from its source to its mouth, a distance of more than a thousand miles, a single wigwam or structure in the nature of a permanent abode. General William Henry Harrison, in his address before the Historical Society of Ohio, says:

"Of all this immense territory, the most beautiful portion was unoccupied. Numerous villages were to be found on the Scioto and the head waters of the two Miamis of the Ohio; on the Miami of the Lake (the Maumee) and its southern tributaries and throughout the whole course of the Wabash, at least as low as the present town of Vincennes; but the beautiful Ohio rolled its amber tide until it paid its tribute to the father of waters through an unbroken solitude. At and before that time and for a century after its banks were without a town or single village or even a single cottage, the curling smoke of whose chimneys would give the promise of comfort and refreshment to a weary traveler."

This was the result of the long and fierce struggle which was waged between the Indians north of the Ohio and those south of it. Its banks were not safe for permanent occupation by any of the Indian tribes. Even the vast and fertile territory of Kentucky was not, so far as known or as tradition informs us, the permanent abode of any considerable number of red men. It was indeed a dark and bloody ground long before its occupancy by the white men. In that territory there were great numbers of buffalo and wild deer and other game which made it a most desirable hunting ground, and hither came the Cherokees and Chickasaws of the south, as also the tribes north of the Ohio to hunt and to obtain salt, and to wage war with each other; but it was not the permanent abode of any considerable number of any of these tribes. It was rather a battle ground and seat of conflict between the northern and southern tribes which had been waged for a long period of time.

* * * *

The Scioto River was originally of great importance not only to the Indians but to the early white settlers. The first surveyors and the first settlers came to this vicinity in canoes, the Scioto then being well suited for canoe navigation.

In a memorial of the Sullivant family prepared by the late Joseph Sullivant will be found (page 111) an interesting narration of his father's experience on one of his early trips to this localty. He had instructed the men who had preceded him in canoes to leave one for him at the mouth of what is now the Olentangy River. He came through the forest on foot, and found the canoe which had been left according to his instruction. It was toward evening when he pushed it into the Scioto and started up that stream for the mouth of Mill Creek where his party was in wait for him. He soon perceived that he was being followed by Indians along the north bank of the river and as the times were turbulent he was apprehensive for his own safety. By the time he had propelled his canoe as far as the island in the bend of the river at the stone quarries it had become dark, and he went upon the island as if intending to camp for the night. He pretended to build a fire but so managed that it made only smoke. When it was sufficiently dark he took his compass and gun and quietly waded out from the island to the west bank of the river and thus escaped his pursuers.

* * * *

All the tribes in Ohio had practically the same government or tribal organization, although they may have differed in many details. In the social organization of the Wyandots there were four groups—the family, the gens, the phratry, and the tribe. The family was the household. It consisted of the persons who occupied one lodge or wigwam. The gens were composed of consanguineal kindred in the female line. The woman is the head of the family and "carries the gens," and each gens has the name of some animal. Among the Wyandots there were eleven gentes, namely: Deer, Bear, Striped Turtle, Black Turtle, Mud Turtle, Smooth Large Turtle, Hawk, Beaver, Wolf, Sea Snake and Porcupine. A tribe is a body of kindred, and to be a member of the tribe, it was necessary to belong to some family or to be adopted into a family. The white captives were often adopted into families and given the relationship of the family. The phratry pertained to medical and religious rites and observances.

There was practically a complete separation of the military from the social government. The councils and chiefs in the social government were selected by a council of women from the male members of the gens.

The Sachem of the tribe or tribal chief was chosen by the chiefs of the gentes. In their grand councils the heads of the households of the tribe and all the leading men of the tribe took part. These general councils were conducted with great ceremony. The Sachem explained the object for which the council was assembled and then each person was at liberty to express his opinion as to what was proper or best to be done. If a majority of the council agreed the Sachem did not speak, but simply announced the decision. In case there was an equal division of sentiment, the Sachem was expected to speak. It was considered dishonorable for a man to reverse his opinion after he had once expressed it.

The wife had her separate property, which consisted of everything in the lodge or wigwam except the implements of war and the chase, which belonged to the men.

Each gens had a right to the services of all its availabe male members in avenging wrongs and in times of war. They also had a right to their services as hunters in supplying game to the villages. In times of need or scarcity whatever game was brought to the camp or village was fairly divided among all present. The military council was composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe. Each gens had a right to the services of all the able-bodied women in the cultivation of the soil. It was considered beneath the dignity of the Indian hunter or warrior to labor in the fields or to perform manual labor outside of what pertained to war and the chase. The children assisted the women in the cultivation of the crops, which consisted mostly of corn, although they also cultivated beans and peas, and in some parts of Ohio at least they had a kind of potato which the captives among the Indians say "when peeled and dipped in coon's fat or bear's fat tasted like our own sweet potatoes." They also made considerable use of nuts and berries, particularly of the walnut and hickory nut and black haw, all of which were found in almost every part of the state. The cranberry was also found in certain places and much used.

The Mingo Indians at this point cultivated the rich bottom land between Franklinton and the river, which was subject to annual overflows so that it was constantly enriched and yielded most abundant returns for the labor bestowed upon it.

* * * *

Their great annual occasion was the green corn festival. For this festival the hunters supplied the game from the forests and the women the green corn and vegetables from the fields. On this occasion they not only feasted themselves with plenty, but made offerings and did homage to the Great Spirit for his blessings. At this festival each year the council of women of the gens selected the names of the children born during the previous year and the chiefs of the gens proclaimed these names at the festival. These names could not be changed, but an additional name might be acquired by some act of bravery or circumstance which might reflect honor upon the person.

* * * *

The crimes generally recognized and punished by the Ohio tribes were murder, treason, theft, adultery and witchcraft. In case of murder it was the duty of the gentile chiefs of the offender's gens to examine the facts for themselves, and if they failed to settle the matter it was the duty of the nearest relative to avenge the wrong.

Theft was punished by twofold restitution.

Treason consisted of revealing the secrets of the medicine preparations, as well as giving information or assistance to the enemy, and was punished by death.

Witchcraft was also punishable by death either by stabbing, burning or with the tomahawk. As late as June, 1810, Chief Leatherlips (Shateyaronyah), an aged chief of the Wyandots, was executed under the charge of witchcraft in this country. He was dispatched with a tomahawk.

For the first offense of adultery in a woman her hair was cropped; for repeated offences her left ear was cut off.

Outlawry was also recognized among most of the tribes and consisted of two grades. If convicted of the lowest grade and the man thereafter committed similar crimes it was lawful for any person to kill him. In outlawry of the highest grade it was the duty of any member of the tribe who might meet with the offender to kill him.

* * * *

When the Indians determined upon a war expedition they usually observed the war dance and then started for their objective point. They did not move in a compact body, but broke up into small parties each of which would take a different way to a common point of assembly. This was necessary, as they had to subsist upon the game which they might be able to take while on the way, and it was difficult, if not impossible, to secure game sufficient to sustain a large number of warriors on any one line of travel. They traveled light and fast, and this made them dangerous as enemies. They would strike when not expected and disappear as suddenly and quickly as they had appeared. In this way they were able to subsist and elude pursuit.

Their captives in war and in their forays were sometimes shot, sometimes burned, sometimes adopted into a family and converted into Indians. The white captives as a rule soon acquired the woodcraft and habits of their captors. Some of them became inveterate and active foes of the white man. Simon Girty may be mentioned as an example of this class. He was called the "White Indian." He was celebrated for his cunning and craftiness, and no Indian surpassed him in these qualities. He is often and usually cited as an example of extreme cruelty, but it is said in truth that he saved many captives from death, and it is probable that injustice has been done to him by inaccurate and prejudiced writers.

* * * *

It was in the Summer season that the Indians congregated in their villages. That was also the season when they went to war or on their forays against the white settlers. In the winter season the villages were practically deserted, as it was their custom to separate into small parties, usually that of the near relatives or, as we would say, members of the household, including the old men, women and children. They would go into different localities and select a spot usually along a stream of water or by the side of a lake or spring, where in the autumn or early winter they would erect a lodgment where the old men, women and children might sojourn through the winter. The hunters would then separate and go in different directions and select a place or camp from which to hunt and trap so as not to impinge upon each other, always keeping relation with the main camp or lodge to which they supplied meat for subsistence. They would of course change these camps according to their pleasure or their necessities, but at the end of the season they would gather the results of their winter's hunt and proceed back to their villages. It was their custom during the hunting season to collect the fat of the beaver, the raccoon and the bear and to secure it in the paunches or entrails of large animals, which the women had prepared for that purpose; and this was transported or conveyed to their villages for future use.

They also made sugar in the spring of the year when the sap began to run, and this they also put into the entrails of animals for preservation and transportation to their summer villages. This sugar they mixed with the fat of the bear and that of other animals and cooked it with the green corn and such vegetables as they had, and thus made what they considered a most savory food.

They were often reduced to great distress for want of food, and often died from hunger and exposure. They were not only improvident, but they had no means of securing large stores of provisions for future use, and never acquired the art of so doing. When they had plenty they would use it with extravagance and improvidence; but they were capable of enduring great hunger and fatigue. It was common for the Indian to be days without food of any kind, but they seem never to have profited by such experiences. The time when they were most likely to be distressed for want of food was in the winter when a crust would be formed upon the snow, so that when in walking such a noise was made as to scare the game before them. It was almost impossible for them to take deer, buffalo, or other wild game under such circumstances. They were then required to depend upon finding bear or coon trees. These their quick and practiced eye would soon detect when they came across them, but they were not always easily found, and it was often days before they would come upon one of them. They often saved themselves from starvation by digging hickory nuts, walnuts, and other nuts, out from under the snow.

* * * *

The territory of Ohio furnished an ideal home for the Indians. The climate was excellent, and the streams abounded with fish and the forests with game. The red deer was abundant and the buffalo and elk were found in considerable numbers in certain portions of the state. These and other large animals furnished food for the Indians, and their hides furnished covering for their lodges and clothing for their persons. The waters of the State at certain seasons of the year were alive with myriads of wild fowl, of which we can now have no conception as to numbers. These added greatly to the sustenance of the Indians. No portion of the country was more favorable for forest life.

* * * *

After the settlement at Franklinton it soon became a trading point for the Indians, particularly the Wyandots, and the hunters of this tribe continued to maintain their hunting camps along the Scioto and other streams of Franklin County for several years after the war of 1812 was closed. I have often heard from my father, David Taylor, who came to this county in 1807, that they came to hunt in this county as late as 1820; and one hunter in particular, with whom my father was well acquainted and who was known to the white people by the name of "Billy Wyandot", maintained his camp every winter at the first ravine north of the National Road on the west bank of Walnut Creek, where there was, and now is, a fine spring.

* * * *

On the 21st of June, 1813, there was a great council of the chief and principal men of the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee and Seneca tribes, about fifty in number, held in Franklinton to meet General Harrison in a conference about the war then in progress. James B. Gardiner, who was then the editor and proprietor of a weekly paper published in Franklinton, called the Freeman's Chronicle, was present, and in the next issue of his paper, which was on the 25th of June, 1813, he made a report of this conference. We have in our possession a copy of that paper, and believing it to be the only one in existence, we quote from it as follows: After some preliminary remarks of a general character General Harrison said to the Indians: "That in order to give the U. S. a guarantee of their good dispositions the friendly tribes should either move with their families into the settlements, or their warriors should accompany him in the ensuing campaign and fight for the U. S. To this proposal the warriors present unanimously agreed and observed that they had long been anxious for an opportunity to fight for the Americans." The editor adds: "We cannot recollect the precise remarks that were made by the chiefs who spoke; but Tarhe (the Crane), who is the principal chief of the Wyandots, and the oldest Indian in the western wilds, appeared to represent the whole assembly and professed in the name of the friendly tribes the most indissoluble attachment for the American government and a determination to adhere to the treaty of Greenville."

"The General promised to let the several tribes know when he would want their services and further cautioned them that all who went with him must conform to his mode of warfare; not to kill or injure old men, women, children nor prisoners. * * * * The General then informed the chiefs of the agreement made by Proctor to deliver him to Tecumseh in case the British succeeded in taking Fort Meigs; and promised them that if *he* should be successful he would deliver Proctor into their hands *on condition* — that they should do him no other harm than to *put a petticoat on him*. For, said he — 'none but a *coward* or a *squaw* would kill a prisoner.' The council broke up in the afternoon and the Indians departed next day for their respective towns."

It will be remembered in this connection in the last days of April, 1813, General Harrison was concentrating his troops for battle with the English under General Proctor and the Indians under Tecumseh at Fort Meigs at the rapids of the Maumee. The English and Indians undertook to surprise him and take the fort before the main body of the American troops had arrived. They laid siege to Fort Meigs with great determination, but were finally defeated and compelled to abandon the enterprise. It was to encourage the Indians to valor at this siege that General Proctor made his promise to them to deliver General Harrison into the hands of Tecumseh, if he should be successful in reducing the fort.

* * * *

In a report made by General Harrison to the Secretary of War, March 22nd, 1814, he says: "The Wyandots, of Sandusky, have adhered to us throughout the war. Their chief, the Crane, is a venerable, intelligent and upright man." In the same report, speaking of Black-Hoof, Wolf, and Lewis, all Shawnee chiefs, he says: "They are attached to us from principles as well as interest. — They are all honest men."

Through the influence of Crane, Leatherlips and others, the Wyandots of Sandusky refused to take part in the war, but the Wyandots of Detroit were led away by the influences of their chiefs, Walk-in-the-Water and Roundhead, and other turbulent spirits, and furnished more than 100 warriors to Tecumseh and the English under Proctor, but were utterly defeated at the Battle of the Thames in October, 1813, and their leader killed, and their military power broken.

* * * *

It is not quite 150 years since the first white man of which we have knowledge passed this locality. In 1751 Christopher Gist, accompanied by George Croughtan and Andrew Montour, passed over the Indian trail from the forks of the Ohio, to the Indian towns on the Miami. Gist was the agent of an English and Virginia land company. On January 17th, 1751, he and his party were at the great swamp in what is now Licking County, known to us as the "Pigeon Roost", or "Bloody Run Swamp", which is five miles northwest from the Licking Reservoir and one-half mile south of the line of the National Road. From thence they proceeded to the Miami Towns, which were in the region of Xenia and Springfield. This trail led them over or very near to the site of Columbus. We have reason to believe that they crossed the Scioto at or near the mouth of the Olentangy.

* * * *

The next white man that we know of who did certainly pass along the Scioto River and visit this vicinity, was James Smith, who was a captive among the Indians and who hunted and camped with them on the Darby somewhere in the neighborhood of Plain City as early as 1757. What is now called the Darby was then the Olentangy, and Smith with his Indian companions hunted and trapped along the Darby and the Scioto, both in the winter of 1757 and 1758. In his narrative we learn that at the end of the first winter's hunt they made a bark canoe and started down the Olentangy (now the Darby), but as the water was low they were required to wait for high water somewhere almost directly west from here, where the Chief Tecaughretanego, after having made his ablutions, prayed to the Great Spirit as follows: "Grant that on this voyage we may frequently kill bears as they may cross the Scioto and Sandusky. Grant that we may kill plenty of turkeys along the banks to stew with our fat bear meat. Grant that rain may come to raise the Olentangy about 2 or 3 feet that we may cross in safety down to Scioto without danger to our canoe being wrecked on the rocks; — and now, O Great Being, thou knowest how matters stand; thou knowest I am a great lover of tobacco, and though I know not when I may get any more, I now make a present of the last I have unto thee as a free burnt offering; therefore, I expect thou wilt hear and grant these requests, and I thy servant will return thee thanks and love thee for thy gifts." (James Smith's Captivity, page 96.)

In a few days the rains did come and raised the Olentangy so that they passed safely down to its confluence with the Scioto at the present town of Circleville, from which point they passed up the Scioto and over into the Sandusky and on to Lake Erie and Detroit, where their stock of furs, which they had taken during the winter, was disposed of to traders. The next year they hunted along the Scioto and Olentangy, and the following year he escaped back to his home in Virginia. He was the first man to describe the country and the character of the land and the forests along the Scioto. Speaking of the country along the Scioto from Circleville up to the carry in Marion County, he says: "From the mouth of Olentangy on the east side of Scioto up to carrying place there is a large body of first and second rate land and tolerably well watered. The timber is ash, sugar tree, walnut, locust, oak and beech." In so far as we know or can discover, this is the first description ever written of the country where Columbus now stands. Just when the Darby obtained its new name and lost its Indian name of Olentangy is not known, but it was as early as the year 1796, as we know by the early surveys along that stream. The new name was no doubt given to it by the early surveyors.

* * * *

On the 10th of May, 1803, the court convened in Franklinton with John Dill, Chief Judge, and David Jamison and Joseph Foos, Associate Judges, who were attended by Lucas Sullivant, Clerk of the Court. They then proceeded to lay off Franklin County into four Townships as required by an act of the Legislature of the State of Ohio. It was by that order that all of that part of Franklin County within the following limits was embraced, to-wit: "Beginning at the forks of Darby Creek (now Georgesville) running thence south to the line between the counties of Ross and Franklin; thence east with said line till it intersects the Scioto River; thence up the same till it comes to a point one mile on a straight line above the mouth of Roaring Run (Hayden's Falls); and from thence to the point of beginning to constitute the township to be called Franklin Township." This included the territory on which we are assembled to-day.

* * * *

In the year 1833 Colonel James Kilbourne, then being a member of the Legislature of Ohio, had an act passed giving Indian names to a number of streams in Central Ohio and by that act substituted the name of Olentangy for the then common name of Whetstone. The original Indian name of the present Olentangy was Keenhong-She-Con, or Whetstone Creek. (See American Pioneer, Vol. I, p. 55.)

One of the reasons stated in the act for changing the names was that some of them were "devoid of modesty". A stream in the eastern part of the County now generally called Big Walnut was by the early white settlers called "Big Belly", and by this act the name was changed to Gahannah. The Indian name of that stream was Whingy-Mahoni-Sepung or Big Lick Creek. The Indian name of what is now called Alum Creek was Seeklic-Sepung or Salt Lick Creek. The term "Sepung" was always added to the name proper of a running stream and means running water, and was applied to all running streams.

* * * *

Immediately after the peace of 1814, the settlers began to arrive in Franklin County and Central Ohio in considerable numbers. The Indians continued to trade at Franklinton and Columbus and to maintain their hunting camps along the various streams of the county, being at peace with the white settlers. About the year 1820 game had become scarce and the Indians ceased to hunt much so far south as Franklin County. In 1830 the Congress and Senate of the United States adopted a policy for the removal of the Indians to the west of the Mississippi River and passed a law entitled: "An act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing within any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the River Mississippi."

This was approved by the President of the United States May 28th, 1830, and pursuant to its general provisions all the Indian tribes were removed from Ohio to the west of the Mississippi within the next few years, and the state of Ohio after centuries of occupancy by the red race ceased forever to be the home of the Indian.

BARON STEUBEN.

The Drill Master who brought an Army out of Chaos,

THOS. JEFFERSON.

Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Ordinance Ceding the Northwest Territory of the Statute for Religious Tolerance,

THE PATHFINDERS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.

COMPILED BY W. H. HUNTER.[1]

STEUBENVILLE GAZETTE.

I.

Who were the Pathfinders?—The Scoth-Irish Exerted Potent Influence in Winning the Ohio Country from the Wilderness and the Indians—Ohio History from the Pennsylvania-Virginia Point of View—The Third Race Division not noted by Historians—The Scotch-Irish and not the Puritans and Cavaliers made Ohio.

By means of the ever busy and facile pens of the descendants of the noble Puritan fathers, the belief has taken deep root in the eastern states, and it is not without adherents in the west, that the pre-eminent position Ohio maintains as an element of the Republic, is wholly due to the remarkable fecundity, mental and physical, of the eight families from New England who located at Marietta in 1788. Until very recent years no one had the temerity to dispute in the least degree the claim that Ohio is solely the product of Puritan forethought, fortitude, thrift, moral power and enterprise, and no writer considered the pains demanded to gather data for a controversy, worth the bother to show that other races should share the honor with the Anglo-Saxon Puritan. However, the past few years have developed a disposition among the so-called Scotch-Irish people[2] to dispute, or rather to divide the honor; and inasmuch as the Puritans have had the ablest writers and advocates in America to uphold their cause as to the claim that they, and they only, made Ohio, it is perhaps only fair that a statement should be made to show that the Scotch-Irish people of virile blood, had an influence in the development and progress of the commonwealth as potent as that of the Puritan.

---

[1] In preparing the historical sketches introductory to a report of the celebration of the Centennial of Jefferson county, the compiler has availed himself of data gathered for the Caldwell History of Belmont and Jefferson counties; of reports of proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Society of America; addresses delivered at New England Society Dinners; the files of *The Steubenville Gazette*, and historical addresses delivered by him before historical societies in Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and papers prepared by him for the Wells Historical Society of Jefferson county.

[2] In a very able work entitled "The Covenanter, the Cavalier and the Puritan" by Judge Temple of Tennessee, the Scotch-Irish are denominated Covenanters.

The Puritan and the Cavalier have been recognized as the only great race divisions in calculations of race influence in the formative period of the Republic—one north, the other south. The historian did not take into consideration the fact there was another race element, greater in numbers than both, more conspicuous in forming the Republic than either.

The Scotch-Irish of America have not been writers;[3] they were only actors. The execution of a great work was glory enough; they cared not who might be given the credit in print, so they and their followers enjoyed the result of the achievement. While the Scotch-Irish have made history, the Puritan has written history, and the story of the making of Ohio has been told only from the Massachusetts-Connecticut point of view, and the reader of this history has been led to believe that to the New Englander—that is to say, the Puritan, who is, or was, an Anglo-Saxon without the strain of the Norman,*—so impressed himself upon Ohio and its institutions that it does not occur to him that there were others.

There is no study so interesting to the historian as ethnology, for it is well to note the origin and development of the pathfinder of a new country in order to determine from whence came the distinguishing characteristics that gave the motive and the momentum of those who led the way. Races love to be tried in two ways: first, by the great men they produce; secondly, by the average merit of the mass of the race.[4]

The influence of the Scotch-Irish people on Eastern Ohio, which was Jefferson county, has been so paramount,—and in noting this declaration, the writer does not disparage the influence of the New Englanders,—that not to mention this race the record would be incomplete. Blot out the influence of this puissant blood in the affairs of the state and Ohio would not have been the scene of deeds that make history. It is true we would have had the Ordinance of 1787, and that the Puritan obtained ready-made[5] from the pen of a Scotch-Irishman, the author of the instrument ceding the territory northwest of the Ohio river to the United States by Virginia whose valorous Scotch-Irish sons under Clark won it from the British; but leave the settlement at Marietta and all its great influence, the achievements of the Scotch-Irish in Ohio give to the state its most important pages of history.

---

[3] The Scotch-Irish have not been writers of history because they are lacking in imagination.—Dr. Ellis Thompson, President Philadelphia High School. [4] Tyndall. * Col. E. C. McDowell in "Scotch-Irish in America."

These deeds have been recorded as achievements of individuals; but the deeds of the Puritan have been credited to a people, a distinct blood. There is a wide difference between these two peoples, and this difference is indicated in the statement in the above sentence. The Puritans were a people—a community, a compact; the Scotch-Irish acted as individuals and held views in contradistinction to those of the Puritan. The Scotch-Irish were individualists, the Puritans socialists. This is the reason the settlements made by the Puritans as a rule were Federalistic when the people of the Republic first drew political lines; it is the reason the settlements of the Scotch-Irish were Democratic.

When the Puritans came to America they were not perplexed by any vague philosophy of human liberty and universal equality.[6] Their idea was not to organize a republic in which all men would be free and equal before the law. Their wish was to plant English colonies under the protection of the English flag, where they and those who *thought as they did* might conduct their religion and their local affairs according to their own ideas.[7]

They were not advocates of a free church. They burned the first Presbyterian church built by the Scotch-Irish settlers at Worcester, Mass.[8] They believed in the state church if theirs were the state church. They permitted no dissent. In their view there must be universal conformity or else banishment, the whipping post or the gibbet. The state was the ally of the church,

---

[5] Senator Daniels at Marietta. [6] Henry S. Boutell. [7] Henry S. Boutell.
[8] Dr. Perry, Williams College, Mass.

Note.—A number of the defenders of Londonderry in 1689 located in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

useful to enforce its decrees and its dogmas.[9] Massachusetts did not open her doors to all religious sects until 1833,[10] while the Scotch-Irish everywhere were advocates of a free church in a free land. The persecution of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Massachusetts was almost as intolerable as was the persecution of the Quakers by the same people.

Are we to believe then that Ohio is indebted to this people for the religious tolerance that obtains as one of our most sacred institutions? Are we to believe that when a large book was written giving the history of "Slavery in Massachusetts," that when as late as 1828 the abolitionist ran greater risk of personal injury in addressing a Massachusetts audience than an audience in Virginia,[11] we are indebted to this people wholly for the emancipation proclamation contained in the Ordinance of 1787?

The Puritan idea has always been to get the greatest aggregate good in the community; the individual and the family are subordinate to the community. With them, the state is the people, and the people belong to, and are made for, the state. With the Scotch-Irish the people are the state, and the state is made by and for the people. Individualism and family seem to be at the foundation of the Scotch-Irish philosophy of life.[12] They maintain that the strength of the home is the strength of the Republic; the Puritans hold that the strength of the Republic is the strength of the home.

But who are the Scotch-Irish, and what elements of character did they possess that made them pathfinders? The prevailing belief that this race is the result of a cross between the Scots and Irish is erroneous. The Scotch-Irish are Scots who first settled in the North of Ireland known now as the Province of Ulster, before the third century. In Ireland they came under the influence of the Cross, and about the sixth century emigrated to North Britain, where they subjugated or crossed with the Pictish tribes; and then what had been Caledonia became Scotland. While the perfidious King James was on the throne he fell out with certain Irish nobles who possessed Ulster, and confiscating their lands, colonized them with Scots; and thus, after a thousand years the

---

[9] Judge Temple. [10] The Covenanter, Cavalier and Puritan. [11] John Rankin. [12] Col. E. C. McDowell, in "Scotch-Irish in America."

Scot who became, in Scotland, the Irish-Scot, returned to the home of his fathers and thereafter was known as Scotch-Irish. In these years infusion of new blood went on, adding traits of manhood lacking in the original stock, as generations came and passed. The cross of the intellectual Irish who had kept the lamp aglow when all else of western Europe was in chaotic darkness, with the physically robust Scot made a strong race; but as the years went by the Scot became the audacious Norman, whose spirit of adventure and enterprise, toned by the conservative Saxon strain, gave this people the elements of character that have revolutionized the factors of progress. And these are the qualities of blood that distinguished this race when representatives thereafter came to America and became the pathfinders of Empire, the course of whose star is ever westward.

These people were what is known in history as the Covenanter stock and they were disciples of John Calvin, John Knox and Melville, and when they came to America the principles that were burned into their hearts came with them: "The authority of kings and princes," said John Knox, "was originally derived from the people; the former are not superior to the latter; if the rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power to destroy their subjects, they may be lawfully controlled." With this spirit the Scotch-Irish came to America, and inspired by the truth of the utterance, they were the first to declare for American independence.

If we follow the footsteps of this people along the pathway that leads through the splendid advancement of the world's civilization, we follow them through every triumph of man's prowess; and as Hume traced the source of thought to the law of association, we only need mention the result of research in any field of endeavor and Scotch names flash to mind.

Why did these people come to America? What made the Scotch the most famous of explorers and colonizers? The answer is in the restlessness that comes of ambition, the audacity that comes of enterprise, that inspired the spirit that directed Livingston, Mungo Park, Richardson, Ross, Collison, McClintock, Hays, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Donaldson, McKensie, McClure, Clark, Lewis and Jeremiah Reynolds. But this is not all. The

Scotch had enriched the soil of the fatherland with blood poured out in battle for personal, civil and religious liberty, and as very little had been gained even after the final stand and as the persecutions were no longer bearable, these people saw beyond the sea the hope of a home of peace, certainly no harder to maintain against the savage than under the tyrant's heel. When they came, they cut loose from the crown and thereafter never lost occasion to add to the uneasiness of the head that bore it.

The first important immigration of these people began in 1704, although there had been quite a number to the eastern shores of Maryland and the adjacent counties of Virginia previously.

Francis Makemie organized the first Presbyterian church in America in 1683, thanks to the tolerance of the Catholics who had colonized Maryland, the Scotch-Irish there being mostly Presbyterians, who were at first denied a church in Virginia, New York and Massachusetts. But it was in the early half of the eighteenth century the great movement began which transported so large a portion of the Scotch-Irish into the colonies, and which to a great measure, shaped the destinies of America. Of this movement Froude says: "In the two years which followed the Antrim evictions, thirty thousand Protestants left Ulster for a land where there was no legal robbery, and where those who sowed the seed could reap the harvest." The persecutions ceased for a time and the toleration act gave peace that checked the tide of emigration, but only for a brief period, for it again began in 1729 and for twenty years twelve thousand people annually came from Ulster to America, landing principally at the port of Philadelphia, but many others came to New England ports as well as to southern ports, until at the outbreak of the Revolution they were more numerous than the Puritans and Cavaliers, the two other great divisions of population, and instead of settling on the seaboard they pushed to the interior until they had formed a line between civilization and the Indians from Maine to Georgia—the most determined, the most stubborn, the most religious, the most persistent men who ever colonized a new country. And this line continued to move westward and was ever on the frontier. They had been trained in war, for they had fought for generations battles for the triumph of principle, which principle was their guiding star in America.

These people, as noted, made settlements in New England, their most populous settlements in that section being in New Hampshire. It was from the New England Scotch-Irish stock that Mathew Thornton came, as did Horace Greeley, Robert Bonner, Col. Wm. Miller, who won fame in the war of 1812, Asa Gray, Gen. McClelland, Hugh McCulloch. Gen. Grant, a native of Ohio, was descended from one of the New England Scotch-Irish settlers, although his mother's people were of this blood but settled in Bucks county, Pa. To the New England Scotch-Irish stock Ohio is indebted for Salmon P. Chase, whose achievements are recorded in the brightest pages of history. Gen. Stark and the "Green Mountain Boys" were of this blood, as was Gen. Knox, Washington's Secretary of War. In fact all the members of Washington's cabinet with one exception were of this blood. So were three of the five first members of the Supreme Court appointed by Washington—Rutledge, Wilson and Blair.

At the celebration of the Jefferson County Centennial, Mayor McKisson, of Cleveland, made the statement in an address that Joshua Reed Giddings and Benjamin Wade were born in the northern part of the original county; this is an error. Giddings, whether of Puritan or Scotch-Irish stock the writer could not ascertain, was born in Pennsylvania, and was educated by a Presbyterian minister, while Wade was a Scotch-Irishman with many, if not all, the distinguishing traits of character, coming as he did from one of the Massachusetts settlements. According to a late biographer Daniel Webster was also of Scotch blood.[13]

Rufus P. Ranney, one of the strong men of whom the Western Reserve is ever proud, and who has been classed with the Puritan stock, because from New England, was likewise Scotch.

Early in their coming, as noted above, the Scotch-Irish formed a line from Maine to Georgia; in New York the settlement was principally in the Mohawk Valley; the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania, however, was the main reservoir which constantly overflowed west and south, the people going up the

---

[13] Jefferson Davis was of the Simpson family from which came Grant's mother.

Virginia Valley where they were given peace of conscience on condition that they would keep back the Indians,—peace that they did not have at the hands of their Quaker neighbors in Pennsylvania, for it is said that they did not get along well with the followers of the docile Penn, having many bitter and unpleasant controversies with them.[14] Many Scotch-Irish immigrants landed at Charleston and Savannah, but the great bulk came in at the port of Philadelphia; Logan, Wm. Penn's manager, declaring that if their "coming were not checked the turbulent Irish would take the colony."

This line of sturdy pathfinders kept up a continuous movement westward, overcoming every obstacle to advancement, until the ensign of civilization was planted on the Pacific coast from the tropic sands of southern California to the frozen mountains of Alaska, conquering by the prowess that comes of proper selection in race building whose foundation was laid away back yonder when the scholarly followers of St. Columba crossed with the Scot whose power was like the rugged oak, gnarled and uncultured, but became in the offspring through infusion of gentler blood-strains, like the polished column, having still all the strength of the forest monarch, but more beautiful in the refinement of tranquil stability. James W. Marshall, of this race, was the first person to discover gold in California, and James Christie, of the same strain, was the Klondike pathfinder.

We often speak of Ohio as a Virginia state. In a sense this is largely true. But the Virginians who came to Ohio were mostly from the valley, very few coming from tidewater, and the majority of the people in the valley first settled in Pennsylvania. There were three lines of emigration from Pennsylvania into Ohio: One direct through the gateway to the west at the meeting of the rivers; one from Virginia, and the other from North Carolina through Tennessee and Kentucky. Rev. Robert Finley and his congregation which settled Chillicothe, came by the latter route, organizing schools and academies all along the line of progress. In fact there were public schools organized and maintained by these people in North Carolina before the Revolutionary war.[15] Dr. Archibald Alexander, the founder of Liberty

---

[14] Dr. Egle. [15] North Carolina Hand-Book.

Hall, so much beloved by Washington, that he endowed it because of the active part its people had taken in the war against England, was from Pennsylvania, and his descendants were with Lee and Jackson in the Confederate army. Liberty Hall was the beginning of Washington and Lee University, the very foundation of culture and power of the Shenandoah and James, the greatest influence in the state's progress. The first President of Liberty Hall, Dr. Graham, who was a power in the Revolutionary war, both in pulpit and field, was from the Old Paxtang church, near Harrisburg, Pa. Many of the families that gave Virginia the name of mother of statesmen, educators and soldiers, the McDowells, the Prestons, the Pattersons, the McCormacks, Ewings, Breckenridges, McCulloughs, Simpsons, McCorcles, Moffats, Jacksons, Irwins, Blairs, Elders, Grahams, Campbells, Finleys, Trimbles, Allens, Hunters, Rankins, Junkins, Stewarts, and hundreds of others were from the Cumberland Valley. The American ancestors of Gen. Jeb Stewart lie buried in the Old Paxtang graveyard; and it is one of the possibilities of civil war that many of both sides in that awful clash of arms at Gettysburg fell almost in sight of the graves of their forebears. The ancestors of Col. Campbell, the hero of Kings Mountain, first settled in Pennsylvania.

The movement of these people from the Cumberland Valley into the Virginia Valley was constant and communication was kept up between the settlers, for they were of the same congregations, and it is safe to presume that after the Hanover church in Dauphin county, Pa., promulgated the first declaration of independence, June 4th, 1774,—"That in the event of Great Britain attempting to enforce unjust laws upon us by the strength of arms, our cause we leave to Heaven and our rifles", the contents of the instrument were communicated to former members of the congregation then in North Carolina, who inspired the Mecklenburg declaration, which was promulgated a year before the Jefferson declaration was written and signed. The Hanover Scotch-Irish who promulgated the declaration that inspired the Americans with courage, at the same time organized a Revolutionary society, having for its object the independence of America. They had a banner ornamented with the portrait of a pioneer rifleman and a rattlesnake, with the motto, "Don't tread on me." How like the Scotch motto, "Injure me at your peril!"

The following year the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians organized a like society at Hannastown, Westmoreland county, Pa., and promulgated even a stronger declaration and adopted a banner of significance of the Hanover badge of liberty. The close association of people with the church, the church with Presbytery and Presbytery with Synod, soon spread the fire generated from the Hanover spark.

The "Liberty Clubs" organized in New York to promulgate ideas that would inspire the people to fight for independence, were called Irish Presbyterian debating clubs by the royalists. The first American newspaper advocating Republican principles, and inspired by the spirit of John Knox, urged the colonists to take up arms that a republic might follow, was edited by a Scotch-Irishman named Anderson, his paper being *The Continental Gazette*, of New York, issued before the outbreak of the Revolutionary war. It is not at all surprising that Bancroft declared that "the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came not from the Puritans of New England, nor the Dutch of New York, nor from the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians."

Rev. Sankey, of the Pennsylvania Hanover church, became a minister in Hanover Presbytery in Virginia, which Presbytery furnished ten thousand of the names on the petition for a free church in a free land in 1785, and which petition was the force back of Jefferson's bill for religious tolerance, becoming law before the Puritan fathers found the Ordinance of 1787. These were the brave people who stood with Rev. David Caldwell on the banks of the Alamance, May 16, 1771, and received the first volley of shot fired at rebels against British oppression in America.[16] The Lewises and the soldiers who fought at Point Pleasant, September 11, 1774, really the first battle of the Revolution, were of this valorous blood. Lord Dunmore had incited the Indians to this conflict against the Americans to discourage further agitation of the then pending demand for fair treatment of the American colonies by the British. Patrick Henry was of this people; so was George Rogers Clark and his two hundred soldiers who won the Northwest Territory, now the very heart of the Great Republic. So were the men who fought on the patriot side in the battle of Kings Mountain. This was pre-eminently a Scotch-Irish victory, one of the most important of the war, for every subsequent event of the Revolution which led in logical succession to the surrender of the British at Yorktown and the close of the war may be traced to this memorable battle.[17] At Cowpens and Guilford we find the same element that did the good work at Kings Mountain. Col. Morgan's regiment of sharpshooters were of this blood, although he was not, and when Morgan was introduced to Burgoyne, after the surrender, he said to him that he commanded the finest regiment in the world.[17]

---

[16] Bancroft.

From this race came Jackson, Polk, Monroe, Calhoun and Madison, as well as Rutledge, who, Bancroft says, was the wisest statesman south of Virginia. Of this people came Allen Trimble from the valley a babe in his mother's arm, on horseback. His father settled on land pointed out to him in the valley by an Indian whom he favored when living in Pennsylvania. Gov. Morrow was from Gettysburg. Gov. Allen was of the same noble blood. Gov. Vance was from Washington county, Pa., as were also the ancestors of Gov. Shannon, who by the way, was the first native Governor of Ohio, and the original Jefferson county has the honor of being his birthplace. Pennsylvania has given to Ohio no less than a dozen governors, ten of them Scotch-Irish; eleven of the counties were named for Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishmen, and they are abiding monuments to some of the bravest, noblest and wisest men of the pioneer days—Wayne, Ross, Hardin, Fulton, Mercer, Darke, Crawford, Butler, Allen, Logan and Morrow. In 1817, a majority of the members of the lower House of Representatives were natives of Pennsylvania,[18] and to-day there are more Pennsylvania natives in a majority of the counties, including Washington and the Reserve counties, than natives of any other state, with of course, Ohio excepted; and in the counties where the natives of Virginia and Kentucky predominate, it is not difficult to trace their origin to Pennsylvania. To him who has the inclination and leisure for the task there can be no more interesting study than to follow the trail of the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, through Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, to Ohio. John Rankin, the founder of the Free Presbyterian church, and one of the finest specimens of physical and mental manhood that ever blessed the earth, came to Ohio from Pennsylvania by way of Virginia, North Carolina and Kentucky. His ancestors were early settlers of Pennsylvania, and his father was a soldier of the Revolution. The son came to Ohio after the Virginia ordinance of cession was adopted,[19] to get away from the environment of slavery, as did also Francis McCormack, the founder of the first Methodist church in the Northwest Territory. It was from immigrants of this stock that the abolition sentiment got its spirit, its abiding force.

---

[17] Wm. Wirt Henry. [18] Howe's Historical Notes.

Of the five Presidents born in Ohio all but Garfield belong to this race.

Of this stock was Robert Fulton, who built the first steamboat on the Ohio, and whose application of this power revolutionized western commerce. So was Cyrus McCormack, the inventor of the reaper. Of this blood was Morse, the inventor of the electric telegraph, Henry, of the electric motor, Graham, Gray, and Bell, of telephone fame, Edison and Westinghouse.

The Puritan blood has been given credit for the ingenuity that made the rugged North Atlantic coast the workshop of America; but it is a fact that the Puritan ladies were taught to spin on Boston common by Scotch immigrants from the north of Ireland; and the great textile industry was given impetus by the invention of the carding and spinning machines by Alexander and Robert Barr, which machines were introduced by a Mr. Orr, and the inventor of the mule spinning machine was also a Scot. Gordon McKay invented the sole-stitching machine that revolutionized shoe-making in New England. Elias Howe, the inventor of the sewing machine, was certainly of Scotch blood. The first iron furnace west of the Allegheny mountains, was erected in 1794 by a Scotchman named Grant. John Campbell first employed the hot-blast in making pig-iron.

John Filson, the surveyor and Indian fighter, who made the first map of Kentucky, and who wrote the first history of the west, published in 1785, was a native of the Cumberland Valley and one of the settlers of Cincinnati. Col. Patterson, who was with Clark in his expedition, was also one of the founders of the metropolis of the state. The Symmes were Scotchmen from New Jersey, as were also Judge Burnett and Judge McLean, the two greatest lawyers of the early west.

---

[19] This ordinance prohibited slavery after 1800.

The Scotch-Irishmen looked upon education as the greatest element of power in civilization and the school-house was one of the first buildings erected in a settlement. Dr. John McMillen, who established the first college in the west, that of Washington and Jefferson, now located in Washington, Pa., also established one of the first colleges in Ohio, that at New Athens, in Harrison county, and in the original Jefferson county; Prof. Joseph Ray, the author of the mathematical works still used in the public schools, being a pupil and a professor thereof. This college gave to Congress Hon. John A. Bingham and Senator Cowan, of Pennsylvania. Athens county, in which the first college in the state is located, was settled by the Scotch-Irish, and Thomas Ewing and John Hunter, both of this blood, were the first graduates, being the first collegiate alumni in the west.[20] Thomas Ewing was one of the greatest statesmen Ohio ever had to her credit, strong, honest, sincere, intellectual. It was in his family that Gen. Sherman was reared. The father of Secretary Sherman's wife was John Stewart, noted in the annals of the Cumberland Valley. Of the Athens University, W. H. McGuffey, the author of the school books, was president for thirty-five years. He was also a professor of the Miami University, another Ohio Scotch-Irish college, and of the University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1800. "Three Ohio men, now deceased," says Dr. Hinsdale, "have exercised a far-reaching educational influence throughout the country," in speaking of McGuffey, Ray and Harvey, two of them, if not all, were of Scotch-Irish blood. Dr. Hinsdale might have also included Linsley Murray, who was of the same strain. Francis Glass, who organized a classical school in the backwoods of Ohio in 1817, and wrote a Life of Washington in Latin, which was used for years as a text-book, was of Londonderry stock, coming to the wilderness from Pennsylvania. Dr. Junkin, an early President of Washington and Lee University, first organized schools in Pennsylvania, and from Virginia followed the trail of the fathers into Ohio, where for years he was the President of Miami University, that has given to the state many of its brightest minds. He wrote a pamphlet in defense of slavery which John C. Calhoun, whose father went to North Carolina from Pennsylvania, characterized as the ablest defense of the institution he had ever read.[21] The public school of Ohio was really founded by Allen Trimble after the system inaugurated in New York by Gov. Clinton, also of Scotch-Irish blood. While acting governor he appointed a commission, a majority of whose members were of Pennsylvania stock, which formulated the Ohio public school system. This system was perfected by Samuel Galloway, born at Gettysburg, a teacher, jurist, statesman, upon whose advice and opinion Lincoln set high value.

---

[20] Howe's Historical Notes.

The Pennsylvanian has served Ohio in both branches of Congress; the first Territorial Governor was Gen. St. Clair, a Scotchman, whose remains now lie buried at Greensburg in a neglected graveyard; the first Territorial Delegate was Wm. McMillen; the first State Representative was Jeremiah Morrow and the first judge was Francis Dunlavey. Dunlavey was a lieutenant in Col. Crawford's expedition to Sandusky.

The most noted of the Indian fighters were of Scotch-Irish blood, and they came principally from the Pennsylvania-Virginia stock—John and Thomas McDonald, J. B. Finley, Simon Kenton, Col. John Johnson, James Maxwell, Joseph Ross, McClelland, the Zanes, McCulloughs, Col. Crawford, Gen. Thomas Hixon, Gen. Findley, Gen. Wm. Lytle, the grandfather of the soldier poet, Gen. Robert Patterson, Samuel Brady, the Poes, Adam and Andrew, all of whose exploits are part of history.

The generals Ohio gave to command Federal troops in the late war were largely of Pennsylvania-Virginia Scotch-Irish stock. Grant has already been mentioned; the McDowells, the Gilmours, the brilliant Steedman was born in Northumberland county; Geo. W. Morgan, was a native of Washington county, so prolific of Ohio men; Gen. Gibson, Ohio's greatest orator, was

---

[21] Dr. Alexander White.

NOTE.—Francis Dunlavey who came to Ohio from Pennsylvania, was a profound scholar and a man of recognized diversity of talent. He opened a classical school at Columbia, near Cincinnati, in 1792.

REV. H. C. McCOOK, D. D.

Soldier, Divine, Author, Scientist.

a native of Jefferson county, but of Pennsylvania stock; the McCooks were of Washington county Scotch-Irish stock,—Dr. John and Maj. Daniel were the fathers of twelve commissioned officers in the Federal army, all of whom were either natives of the original Jefferson county or had lived within its territory, all men of sterling qualities, characteristic of the race from which they sprung; they have been pre-eminent as soldiers, as lawyers, as statesmen. as divines, as teachers, as orators, and one Rev. Dr. Henry C. McCook has become distinguished.in scientific research, being an authority on entomology, and as the author of "The Latimers," the strongest historical novel of the west that has been written, and that has won him lasting fame as a writer of fiction; not only this: he has shown that there is material in the pioneer times of the Ohio-Pennsylvania-Virginia border upon which to base historical novels as strong as those founded on Scotch history by Scott. Dr. McCook is the most versatile, and withal the brainiest man ever produced by the original Jefferson county. As a divine, he is sincere, enthusiastic; as an orator he is eloquent, convincing; as a scientist, he stands at the very head of those who study along the lines of entomology; as an author of historical narrative, he has won the applause of readers; as a historian, he is painstaking, conscientious; as a scholar and teacher, profound and thorough. In no other man of our county, have we the intellectual qualities so manifest as in Dr. McCook. And his work has all been for the enlightenment of his fellows, and the world about him is better and brighter because he is the center of it, giving out the fire of his great intellect and the warmth of his kind heart like a sun in a firmament, that all may be blessed.

Gen. Hamer, who procured Gen. Grant's admission to West Point, was a Pennsylvanian, but descent is not known to the writer. T. Buchanan Reed, the author of "Sheridan's Ride," that stirring epic of the war period, was born in Chester county, Pa. The father of C. L. Vallandigham, whose classical school in Lisbon, was attended by a portion of the McCook family, was from Pennsylvania, a Scotch-Irish Huguenot, a cross that adds to the sturdy Scotch strain, both in steadfastness of principle, beauty of feature and gentility of manner. James Geddes and Samuel

Forrer, the pioneer engineers, who did much to develop Ohio, were from Pennsylvania.

Of the four field commanders-in-chief in the late war, Winfield Scott, Grant and McClelland were of this race, and Sheridan's mother was Scotch.

President Harrison is of this stock, his mother coming from Pennsylvania; so is President McKinley. The late Thos. A. Hendricks, a native of Ohio, was also of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish blood. William J. Bryan is of the Virginia strain. Senator M. A. Hanna, the greatest political organizer of the century, is descended from a Pennsylvania-Virginia Scotch-Irish family. Twelve of the Presidents of the Republic were of Scotch and Scotch-Irish descent. As were also the organizers of great industrial and business enterprises—Carnegie, Rockefeller, Pullman, Armour.

In journalism the Cumberland and Virginia valleys have had a powerful influence. William Maxwell, the editor of the first journal in Ohio, was of this strain, as was also Charles Hammond, editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, as early as 1824, and who was considered the ablest editor ever in Ohio. As no vehicle of power exerts greater force than the newspaper in the affairs of state and church, the Pennsylvania-Virginian can rest his laurels in Ohio on achievement along this line of human endeavor and be sure of highest honor, for no other blood has given Ohio greater editors than Richard Smith, Murat Halsted, Washington and John McLean, Whitelaw Reid, than Morrow, of Cleveland, or McClure, of Columbus. And it should be recorded here that the lightning press invented by Scott, by Gordon, by Campbell, give to this race the acme of mechanical ingenuity; while Gedd, a Scotchman, invented a process of stereotyping that made possible the employment of the lightning press in the multiplication of the printed page.

In most of the Ohio counties the first church built was invariably Presbyterian. This alone gives a strong suggestion as to the influence of the Scotch-Irish on Ohio. Had the Puritans been the greatest factor in the settlement of the state the first churches would have been of a different communion. But the Scotch-Irish were not all Presbyterians: Bishops Simpson, Mc-

Cabe and McKendrie, of the Methodist Episcopal church; Bishops McIlvaine, Thompson and Leonard, of the Protestant Episcopal church; Col. Johnson, one of the founders of Kenyon college, and one of the greatest men of Ohio; Alexander Campbell of the Christian church; Bishop Watterson of the Catholic church, were and are examples of the intellectual prowess of the Scotch.

It has been mentioned by those who sneer at the Scotch-Irish strain that Simon Girty, Captains McKee, Elliot and Caldwell were of this race. This is true. It is not claimed by their advocates that all the Scotch-Irish are more moral than men of other races; but it is claimed that they possess elements of character that push them to the front until they become leaders both in thought and action, and the career of the Tories mentioned in this paragraph only emphasizes the truth of the statement. They were leaders and were at the very head of the British army in the west, advising movements and commanding in battle; and had it not been for their skill the English forces in the west would have been overthrown long before the end finally came to the conflict that was the most cruel, as carried on by the British, in the history of civilized warfare.

But the two most notable events that mark epochs in the history of Ohio are, first, the conquest of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark, and secondly, the Greenville treaty by Wayne. The first made the lakes rather than the Ohio river the dividing line between the Republic and the British possessions, the second made possible a home of peace within this territory.

In this introduction the writer has tried to show that Ohio is in a measure indebted to other blood besides that of the Puritan for its rise and progress. The men who made Ohio were of sterling qualities, whether of Puritan or Scotch blood. They were men of iron frame, broad minds, brave.

II.

The Indians in the Ohio River Country — Hutchins, Gordon and Rev. David Jones Mention Mingo Town — The First White Person on Jefferson County Soil — The Story of Mary Jamison, an Indian Captive — Early Scotch-Irish Traders — Most Important Epoch in American History — Boquet's Expedition — The Zane Settlement — Tomahawk Claim Made on the Site of Steubenville in 1765.

The Upper Ohio Valley was occupied by the red savages before the conquering Anglo-Saxon races drove out with the long rifle the barrier to the onward march of civilization. The territory was one vast wilderness, says Doddridge,[22] one of whose most prominent features was its solitude. "Those who plunged into the bosom of this forest," continues the same author who wrote much about the Ohio country, "left behind them, not only the busy hum of men, but domesticated animal life generally. The solitude of the night was interrupted only by the howl of the wolf, the melancholy moan of the ill-boding owl or the shriek of the frightful panther. The day was, if possible, more solitary than the night. The noise of the wild turkey, the croaking of the raven, the tapping of the woodpecker, did not much enliven the dreary scene. The various tribes of singing birds are not inhabitants of the desert, they are not carnivorous and therefore must be fed from the labors of man. At any rate they did not exist here."[23] To enter and conquer a wilderness filled with savages required elements of character that the people of this day and generation do not fully appreciate. The pathfinders were possessed of wonderful force of character, perseverance, energy, valor, fortitude, and withal with a religious faith that knew no fear, save that of the Creator Himself.

---

[22] Joseph Doddridge, whose works have given the historians many data, was born in Bedford county, Pa., in 1764. In 1778 he was received as a traveling preacher by a Methodist Episcopal Conference in Washington county, Pa. He continued in the itinerancy of the Methodist communion until 1791 when he entered the Cannonsburg academy, afterwards becoming an adherent of the Protestant Episcopal church. He studied medicine and located at Wellsburg, W. Va., in 1800. He devoted much of his time to literary work and to establishing churches in the Ohio country. In addition to his celebrated "Notes on Early Border Life," now out of print, he wrote a drama entitled "Logan," a "Treatise on the Culture of Bees," "The Pioneer Spy," "Sermons and Orations." He was one of the pioneer doctors, for there were no doctors in the Ohio country from the time of Zane's settlement in 1769 to 1793.

The Ohio Valley was occupied by the Indians as hunting grounds, and this fact is given as the reason the first white explorers found no villages on the banks of the river.

After the conquest of the Ohio country by the Iroquois, or Five Nations, they became demoralized and between the years 1700 and 1750 the Ohio region became occupied by different tribes of savages. Before 1740, according to Hildreth, the English knew very little about the Ohio Valley. Up to that time the French explorers were the only ones who had knowledge of the region. De Celeron was commander of the French exploring party that descended the river in 1749. He speaks of finding Indian villages along the Allegheny, but only one on the Ohio, that being Logstown. The Seneca Indians dwelt at Mingo. The Senecas were the most powerful and warlike of the Iroquois. They also had a capital in the Tuscarawas Valley, and were powerful in New York and Pennsylvania. It is not definitely known that Logan, who was a Cayuga, lived in Mingo. In 1772 he was located with his relatives and others of his tribe at the mouth of Big Beaver. Logan's presence at the mouth of Yellow creek in 1774 is conceded to have been only a hunting camp. The principal settlements of the Delawares were on the Muskingum. The "Moravian" Indians were of this tribe. In 1750 they were a powerful tribe claiming possession of nearly half of the state. The other tribes prominent in Ohio at that date were the Wyandots, Shawanese, Ottawas and Miamis. The Ohio Valley was their hunting ground and they united in bloody warfare against white settlers. The Wyandots, or Hurons, were descended from the remnant of the once powerful tribe of that name, which half a century before had been driven off by the Iroquois. The Shawanese, called Chauanons by the French, were the most prominently identified with this immediate region. For forty years after 1755 the Shawanese were in perpetual war with the Americans, either independent or as allies of the French or British. They were allies of the French in the Seven Years' war. What was known as Lord Dunmore's war was with this nation. The Shawanese took active part with the British in the Revolutionary war and kept up the fight until the Wayne treaty. By the Wayne treaty, in 1795, the Shawanese lost most of their territory. In the war of '12, under Tecumseh, they were allies of the British. Cornstalk was the king of the Shawanese and Tecumseh, born at Chillicothe and killed at Thames, was the most noted chief.

---

[23] Other authorities say song birds were in the western country at the time of which Doddridge writes. Dr. H. C. McCook made a thorough investigation and declares that Doddridge is in error.

In 1749 Celeron, the French explorer, sunk leaden plates in the Ohio at the mouths of important streams, and wrote to Gov. Hamilton that he was surprised to find English settlers on French territory. Some of these plates were found, one in 1846 at the mouth of the Kanawha.

In "Historical Outlines," given as appendix to "Afloat on the Ohio," by Reuben Gold Thwaites, president of the Wisconsin Historical Society, just published (1897), it is stated that the English fur traders were on the Ohio in 1700. In 1725, says the same author, "the English from North Carolina were trading with the Miamis under the very shadow of Fort Ouiatanon, near Lafayette, Ind." "About this time," continues the same painstaking historian, "Pennsylvania and Virginia began to exhibit interest in their own overlapping claims to lands in the country northwest of the Ohio. Christopher Gist explored the Ohio for the Virginia company in 1750, the King of England having made a grant of five hundred thousand acres to the company, and the Gist expedition was made for the purpose of selecting the lands. In speaking of this incident, the historian quoted above says "Gist met many Scotch-Irish fur traders who had passed into the west through the mountain valleys of Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas." In 1766 Capt. Harry Gordon, a Scotchman, chief engineer of the western department of North America, was sent from Fort Pitt down the Ohio, and mentions Mingo as an Indian village, seventy-one miles down the Ohio from Fort Pitt.

In Imlay's "Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America," issued in 1766, Mingo town is described as seventy-five miles below Fort Pitt, containing sixty families.

Mingo town is mentioned in the journal of Rev. David Jones, who on June 9, 1772, says in his journal: "Left for Fort Pitt in company with George Rogers Clarke and several others, who were disposed to make a tour of this new world. We traveled by water in a canoe, and as I labored none had an opportunity of observing the course of the river. It would be too tedious to give a particular account; it may suffice to be more general and refer the cautious reader to a map expected soon to be published by Messrs. Hutchins and Hooper. From Fort Pitt the river Ohio runs about fifteen miles near a northwest course, thence near north about fourteen miles, then it makes a great bend for about twenty miles, running a little south of west, thence for near twenty miles southeast to the place called Mingo town, where some of that nation yet reside. Some of this town were wont to plunder canoes, therefore we passed them as quietly as possible, as we were so happy as not to be discovered by any of them."

After the defeat of Braddock, in 1754, the Indians made incursions into Pennsylvania as allies of the French, and many diabolical outrages were committed on the English settlers east of the mountains both in Pennsylvania and Virginia. On Marsh creek, near Philadelphia, the Jamison family were murdered, the Indians sparing the life of but one member, Mary, aged thirteen years. She was brought to Fort Duquesne and given into the charge of two Seneca squaws, who brought her to their home, Mingo village on the Ohio. The history of Mary's life, published in 1824, gives the first recorded incident in Jefferson county and is the story of the first white person known to have set foot upon the soil of Jefferson county.

The story of Mary Jamison, or "Deh-he-wa-mis", the white woman of the Genesee, as she was called by captors, follows:

"On the way we passed a Shawnee town, where I saw a number of heads, arms, legs and other fragments of the bodies of some white people who had just been burned. The parts that remained were hanging on a pole, which was supported at each end by a crotch stuck in the ground, and were roasted as black as a coal. The fire was yet burning and the whole appearance afforded a spectacle so shocking that even to this day the blood almost curdles in my veins when I think of it. At night we arrived at a small Seneca Indian town at the mouth of a small river, which was called by the Indians in the Seneca language She-nan-jee, about eighty miles by water from the fort, where the two squaws to whom I belonged resided; there we landed. Having made fast to the shore the squaws left me in their canoe while they went to their wigwam in the town and returned with a suit of Indian clothing, all new and very clean and nice. My clothes, though whole and good when I was taken, were now torn in pieces so that I was almost naked. They first undressed me and threw my rags into the river, then washed me clean and dressed me in the new suit they had just brought, in complete Indian style, and then led me home and seated me in the center of their wigwam. I had been in that situation but a few minutes before all the squaws in the town came in to see me. I was soon surrounded by them and they immediately set up a most dismal howling, crying bitterly and wringing their hands in all the agonies of grief for a deceased relative. Their tears flowed freely and they exhibited all the signs of real mourning. At the commencement of this scene one of their number began in a voice somewhat between speaking and singing to recite some words."

This was the ceremony of adoption, the two squaws having taken Mary as a sister to fill the place of a brother killed in the battle known as Braddock's defeat. She spent her entire life with the Indians, living several years at Mingo town. She speaks of visiting Fort Pitt, and of the joy it gave her to see those of her own race again.

In 1759 Forbes drove the French out of Pennsylvania, and the English standard was set to the breeze on the new Fort Pitt by Col. Armstrong, a Scotch-Irishman. Wolfe and his Highlanders climbed the Heights of Abraham and thus ended Latin dominion east of the Mississippi. This date marks the most important epoch in the history of America, even more important than the Declaration of Independence, for it was the beginning of the revolution that brought about American independence of European powers. In fact, says Hinsdale, the triumph of Wolfe, and not that of "the embattled farmers of Lexington, was the first great victory of the American Revolution." With the defeat of the French the hostilities of the Indians abated for a period. Fort Pitt, with Col. Hugh Mercer, a Scotchman, as were also Forbes and Wolfe's soldiers Scotchmen, was commander of the garrison. Then began the migration in large numbers of the Scotch-Irish from the Cumberland valley into western Pennsylvania, overflowing to the Panhandle of Virginia. Comparative peace obtained up to 1763, the date of Pontiac's conspiracy, when the red savage broke out in a storm of fury that was to have simultaneously destroyed all the English fortifications, "then having destroyed their garrisons, to turn upon the defenseless frontier, and ravage and lay waste the settlements, until, as many of the Indians believed, the English would be driven into the sea, and the country restored to its primitive owners."[24] While many of the English forts fell into the hands of the Indians, Fort Pitt was not taken, but the savages committed awful depredations on the settlements newly made in the interior, east of Pitt. Boquet's campaign against the Indians followed, terminating at the end of that year, but being determined to further punish the Delawares, Shawanese and Senecas, who were still on the warpath in the Ohio valley, he marched with an army of five thousand men into the Ohio country, his advance guard being composed of Pennsylvania and Virginia scouts. This expedition passed through Jefferson county, following Yellow creek and its branches and then through the Muskingum valley. The expedition was a successful one, the Indians suing for peace and delivering up the white prisoners they had made captive, consisting of two hundred and six persons, all Pennsylvanians and Virginians, one hundred and twenty-five of them being women and children. The expedition returned to Fort Pitt on the 28th of November, 1764, the route being up the Muskingum and Tuscarawas valleys to the provision stockade, near the present town of Bolivar, at which point Fort Laurens was afterwards erected, almost on the line of the original Jefferson county, thence by way of Sandy valley and Yellow creek to the Ohio.

---

[24] Parkman.

Col. Croghan, having been appointed by the government, after the treaty of peace in 1763, to explore the Ohio country, and to conciliate the Indian nations that hitherto had acted with the French, he set off from Fort Pitt on May 15, 1765, with two bateaux, and on the 17th, at six o'clock in the morning, he arrived at Mingo. "Here," he says in his journal, "the Senecas have a village on a high bank on the north side of the river. The chief of this village offered Col. Croghan his services to go with him to the Illinois, which he did not refuse, for fear of giving offense, although he had a sufficient number of deputies with him already."

The sturdy settlers of the valleys of the Susquehanna, the Cumberland and the Shenandoah, undaunted by the treachery of the savage, manifested in repeated violation of treaties, again turned their faces to the fertile lands beyond the mountains. The peace that followed the treaty of 1765 gave them hope of possible peaceable settlements. In 1769 the Zanes [Wheeling creek is famous in western history. The three Zane brothers, Ebenezer, Jonathan and Silas,—typical, old-fashioned names these, bespeaking the God-fearing, Bible-loving, Scotch Presbyterian stock from which sprang so large a proportion of trans-Allegheny pioneers,—explored this region as early as 1769, built cabins and made improvements.—Reuben Gold Thwaites in "Afloat on the Ohio," 1897] penetrated to the banks of the river, at the present site of Wheeling, and during the following year actual settlements were made in the adjacent territory on the east side of the river, but so far as known no settlements were made on the west side, it being a provision of the treaties that the country north and west of the Ohio was to remain in possession of the Indians. Nevertheless four years before the coming of the Zanes, in 1765, Jacob Walker, who had come from Maryland, made a tomahawk claim on the territory now occupied by the city of Steubenville. After aiding a Mr. Greathouse clear three acres of land and plant his corn opposite the site of Steubenville, in Brooke county, Va., Walker crossed the river and deadened three trees at a point now known as Marsh's spring, on North Seventh street, denoting the centre of the claim. This was the first attempt ever made to settle the west side of the Ohio. The appended sketch of the life of Jacob Walker was written by his great-grandson, the information therein contained being handed down from generation to generation, and its authenticity is not questioned.

"In 1765 the site of Steubenville was a dense forest, and game, such as deer, turkeys, hares, and wild hogs, was abundant. Jacob also during that year bought of Mr. Greathouse a farm, paying sixteen cents an acre for it, there being four hundred acres, it being the farm now owned by J. J. Walker. They deadened three trees at the spring by his house, which was the transfer. On account of trouble at Richmond, Va., he did not get a deed until 1785. During the summer of 1765 he built a cabin on his farm, it being about half way between the present residence of J. J. Walker and his son, W. P. Walker, and that fall he returned to Baltimore and married Margaret Guthrie. In the spring of 1766 he bought a pony, and they started back to his farm, she riding the pony, and he walking, bringing all they had with them. They arrived at the cabin in August; he went in and tramped down the weeds and then helped her off the pony, took off the pack saddle and what other few things they had and told her this was her home. He afterwards helped to build Fort Decker in what is now Mahan's orchard, below Mingo. They lived at the fort for seven years during the summer, and on his farm during the winter. As soon as the leaves came in the spring the Indians came also, and when he went out to plow or plant he got two soldiers to come with him from the fort, they hiding at each end of the field to keep the Indians from slipping up and shooting him. He worked all day without speaking to his team above a whisper. During his stay at the fort one day in the fall he came up to his cabin, having a little dog with him; he came to the spring first, and the little dog slipped up to the cabin. It came back and by jumping in front of him and doing everything it could to keep him from going to the cabin, he thought of Indians and went back to the fort and got some of the soldiers, returning in time to see nine Indians slip away. Another time Captain Buskirk sent his son to mill on horse-back with a sack of corn, also having a favorite dog, which followed him. It was a two days' trip, and on his return the dog was not with him; his father got very angry, and the son went back to look for the dog, and after he had gone three days and no word from him, the captain sent Jacob Walker, Mr. Decker, and two soldiers to see if they could find him. They went from the fort down the Ohio to the mouth of Cross creek and up Cross creek, following the trail, and when they came to the mouth of Scioto run, where it empties into Cross creek, they found him; the Indians had laid in ambush and caught him without shooting and had split his head with a tomahawk; the prints of their fingers were plain on his neck where they had choked him to keep him from hollowing. They scalped him and took his horse. The party sent out took him and buried him up on the hill overlooking Cross creek on land that was or is owned by Silas McGee. Jacob said of all the sad sights that he ever saw, that was the saddest. The captain lost his son, horse and dog; the Indians killed his wife and the captain himself later. After Jacob had left the fort and gone out to his farm, during the summer season, the Indians would still come over the river and kill the settlers. At such times Jacob and his wife would take their three children and go away from their cabin. She would take a babe in her arms and sit down in the field, leaving John and Mary at a short distance covered with a quilt; Jacob sitting at a short distance with his gun. He was at the building of Fort Steuben; he was at the battle between Captain Buskirk and the Indians, fought on Battle run, west of Mingo, where Captain Buskirk was killed, in Jefferson county, Ohio. He was at a council of war between Logan and Buskirk. Jacob Walker was appointed constable in 1797, at the first court held in Brooke county. He died about 1830, aged 94 years."

The policies of the English colonists and their general government were ever clashing. The latter looked upon the Indian trade as an entering wedge; they thought of the West as a place of growth. Close upon the heels of the path-breaking trader went the cattle raiser, and, following him, the agricultural settler looking for cheap, fresh, and broader lands. No edicts of the

Board of Trade could repress these backwoodsmen; savages could and did beat them back for a time, but the annals of the border are lurid with the bloody struggle of the borderers for a clearing in the western forest. The greater part of them were Scotch-Irishmen from Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas — a hardy race, who knew not defeat. Steadily they pushed back the rampart of savagery, and won the Ohio valley for civilization.— Reuben Gold Thwaites, "Historical Outline," 1897.

III.

The Ohio Country Attracts the East — George Washington and William Crawford Take a Trip Down the River and Stop at Mingo Town in 1770 — Many Settlers as Early as 1774 — First Blood of the Revolution Shed on Jefferson County Water Front — Capt. Connelly, the Tory, Incites Americans to Kill Indians which Excites the Dunmore War — The Killing of Logan's People, Part of the Conspiracy to Incite the Indians to War to Quiet the Rumblings of Revolution — Battle of Point Pleasant the First of the Revolutionary War.

The glowing accounts circulated throughout the east as to the Ohio country were most enticing, and even interested no less a person than George Washington, who was often inspired by the spirit of speculation, and in 1770 made a canoe trip down the Ohio, a record of which is given in his journal. On October 21st he parted with Col. Croghan at Logstown, where Croghan proposed to sell him a large body of land which Croghan claimed, but Washington makes this record: "At present the unsettled state of this country renders any purchase dangerous." On the 22nd he writes: "As it began to snow about midnight, and continued pretty steadily, it was about half past seven before we left the encampment (below Little Beaver). At a distance of about eight miles we came to the mouth of Yellow creek, opposite, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good land, and the ascent to the hills appears to be gradual. There is another pretty large bottom of very good land two or three miles above this. About eleven or twelve miles from this, and just above what is called the Long Island (Brown's Island), which, though so distinguished, is not very remarkable for length, breadth, or goodness, there comes in on the east side of the river a small creek, (King's) the name of which I could not learn; and a mile or two below the island, on the west side, comes in Big Stony creek, (Wills) not larger in appearance than the other, on neither side of which does there seem to be any large bottoms or bodies of land. About seven miles from tne last mentioned creek, and about seventy-five from Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo town, situated on the west side of the river, a little above Cross creek. This place contains about twenty cabins, and seventy inhabitants of the Six Nations." Washington speaks of the abundance of game, his party having killed five turkeys the day of arrival at Mingo, mentioning also that the river abounded in wild geese and several kinds of ducks. According to this journal, Washington found sixty warriors at Mingo on their way to the Cherokee country to war with the Catabas.

Washington was accompanied on the trip by Col. Crawford, his friend and companion, in whose integrity he had fullest confidence, and upon whose ability as a surveyor, and judgment as a prospector he relied; Dr. Craik, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, and David Redden, Col. Crawford's servant. On their return Washington and Crawford remained in Mingo three days.

The peace of the country was not generally disturbed after the treaties of 1765 up to the Dunmore war, and that portion of Virginia opposite Jefferson county was quite rapidly settled. Wheeling soon became of as much importance as a place of rendezvous as had Redstone Fort, which had been the meeting place of immigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania on their way to Kentucky, and was the only station between Fort Pitt and the "dark and bloody ground." Capt. Michael Cresap, of Maryland, was among the earliest to invade the Ohio country and take up lands with a view of holding for a price when they should come into the market.[25] With his name is associated one of the saddest tragedies of the pioneer days, the murder of Logan's relatives at the mouth of Yellow creek. His coming to the Ohio country, says Jacobs in the Life of Cresap, he having become financially involved, was urged by necessity as well as laudable ambition to profit by the possession of the rich bottom lands, in order that he might in time gain a competency for his growing family by their sale, and to this end early in the year 1774, he employed a lot of young men and repairing to the wilderness of the Ohio, commenced the work of clearing the lands and building houses, and being among the first adventurers into this exposed and dangerous region, was enabled to select some of the best and richest Ohio levels. It was while he was engaged in this enterprise that Cresap received word from Capt. Connelly, commandant of the West Augusta, Va., troops, and stationed at Fort Pitt, apprising him that a war with the Indians was inevitable, evidence having been gathered by scouts that the savages were preparing to attack the settlers, this being precursory to what is known in history as Dunmore's war, but really the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle, for the people of New England, in the Mohawk, the Cumberland, the Virginia valleys and on the Holston, the Alamance and the Watauga were protesting against British tyranny, secession and independence having been largely discussed in the Presbyterian presbyteries, and the English government knew of the storm that was coming. There was comparative peace with the Indians and the settlers had time to think of their other troubles and to discuss them at the fireside and in meeting. The savages were evidently incited by the British emissaries to hostilities to give the settlers matters to consider of more immediate serious import than the discussion of state affairs. Thus in 1774 began the Revolutionary war, which did not end in the Ohio country until the complete victory over the Indians and British by the matchless Wayne and his Scotch-Irish soldiers at Fallen Timbers, twenty years after.

---

[25] **Caldwell's History of Belmont and Jefferson counties.**

As has been stated, there were many settlers along the east side of the river at this time. George Rogers Clark was with a party of pioneers at the mouth of the little Kanawha. A portion of the party had gone up the river, and while they were on the expedition, those remaining were fired upon by Indians. There was cause for apprehension, for rumors of war filled the very air with their awful forebodings of savage atrocities. The settlers began to gather at Wheeling, the rush being from all points, none of them agreeing to accept the protection offered by scouting parties sent out from Fort Pitt, and return to their plantations. Cresap was elected as leader, and on April 21, received a letter from Fort Pitt confirming the rumors of impending war. A counsel was held and Cresap's men at once declared war against the Indians.

"About this time," says Doddridge, "it being reported that a canoe containing two Indians and some traders was coming down the river, and then not far from the place, Captain Cresap proposed to take a party up the river and kill the Indians. The proposition was opposed by Col. Zane, the proprietor of Wheeling. He stated that the killing of those Indians would inevitably bring on a war in which much innocent blood would be shed, and that the act itself would be an atrocious murder and a disgrace to his name for ever. His good counsel was lost. The party went up the river. On being asked on their return what had become of the Indians, they coolly answered, 'they had fallen into the river.' Their canoe, on being examined, was found bloody and pierced with bullets." The idea has been advanced, and it is possible, if it be true that the British incited the Dunmore war for a far-reaching purpose, it is evident that Cresap was in the conspiracy,* for conspiracy it evidently was, and in killing these Indians on the water front of Jefferson county made this the scene of the first blood of the Revolution.

According to the printed accounts, on the same day, or the day after, various canoes of Indians were discovered on the river by Capt. Cresap and his men, who drove them down the river to Pipe creek, where the Indians landed and a battle ensued, in which three of the savages were killed and scalped and their stores taken. This was the second bloodshed, "and a war inaugurated," says Caldwell, "which brought forth fearful vengeance." The same night, according to the account of Col. Clarke, who was with the party, a resolution was formed by Cresap's men to attack Logan's camp at the mouth of Yellow creek. "We actually marched five miles and halted to take some refreshments. Here the impropriety of the proposed enterprise was argued, the conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions, as it was a hunting camp, composed of men, women and children, with all their stuff with them. This we knew, as I, myself, and others then present, had been in their camp about four weeks before that time, on our way down from Pittsburg. In short, every person present, particularly Cresap (upon reflection) was opposed to the projected measure. We turned, and on the same evening decamped and took the road for Redstone. It was two days after this that Logan's family was killed, and from the manner in which it was done, it was viewed as a horrible murder by the whole country."

---

*As an unconscious tool of Connelly.

Logan's camp, at the mouth of Yellow creek, was about fifteen miles above the site of Steubenville. The account of the atrocious massacre of Logan's people, as given in Caldwell's History of Belmont and Jefferson counties, is as follows: "Directly opposite Logan's camp was the cabin of Joshua Baker, who sold rum to the Indians, and who consequently had frequent visits from them. Although this encampment had existed here for a considerable time, the neighboring whites did not seem to apprehend any danger from their close proximity. On the contrary, they were known to have their squaws and families with them, and to be simply a hunting camp. The report of Cresap's attack on the two parties of Indians in the neighborhood of Wheeling, having reached Baker's may have induced the belief, as was subsequently claimed, that the Indians at Yellow creek would immediately begin hostilities in reprisal. Under this pretext, Daniel Greathouse and his brothers gathered a party of about twenty men to attack the Indian encampment and capture the plunder. Unwilling to take the risk of an open attack upon them, he determined to accomplish by stratagem what might otherwise prove a disastrous enterprise. Accordingly, the evening before the meditated attack, he visited their camp in the guise of friendship, and while ascertaining their numbers and defences, invited them with apparent hospitality to visit him at Baker's, across the river. On his return he reported the camp as too strong for an open attack, and directed Baker, when the Indians whom he had decoyed should come over, to supply them with all the rum they wanted, and get as many of them drunk as he could. Early in the morning of April 30, a canoe loaded with Indians, consisting of eight persons, came over—three squaws, a child, and four unarmed men, one of whom was a brother of Logan, the Mingo chief. Going into Baker's cabin, he offered them rum, which they drank, and became excessively drunk—except two men, one of whom was Logan's brother, and one woman, his sister. These refused taking liquor. No whites, except Baker and two companions, remained in the cabin. During the visit, it is said by John Sappington, Logan's brother took down a hat and coat belonging to Baker's brother-in-law, put them on, and strutted about, using offensive language to the white man—Sappington. Whereupon, becoming irritated, he seized his gun and shot the Indian as he went out the door. The balance of the men, who up to this time remained hidden, now sallied forth, and poured in a destructive fire, slaughtering most of the party of drunken and unresisting savages. According to the statement of Judge Jolly, the woman attempted to escape by flight, but was also shot down; she lived long enough, however, to beg mercy for her babe, telling them it was akin to themselves. Immediately on the firing, two canoes of Indians hurried across the river. They were received by the infuriated whites, who were arranged along the river bank, and concealed by the undergrowth, with a deadly fire, which killed two Indians in the first canoe. The other canoe turned and fled. After this two other canoes, containing eighteen warriors, armed for the conflict, came over to avenge their fellows. Cautiously approaching the shore they attempted to land below Baker's cabin. The movements of the rangers, however, were too quick for them and they were driven off with the loss of one man. They returned the fire of the whites but without effect. The Indian loss was ten killed and scalped, including the mother, sister and brother of Logan."

In commenting on this horrible and bloody massacre, Caldwell says it cast a stain of infamy upon the name of every person in any way connected with it. Contemporary letters and chronicles of this event speak of it as a shameless and atrocious murder, and as the inciting cause of the terrible war which followed, accompanied with all those cruelties which savage ferocity could invent.

The party guilty of the crime left immediately, taking the babe whose life had been spared with them, arriving, according to Judge Jolly, at Catfish camp, now Washington, Pa., the evening of the next day. "I very well remember," says Judge Jolly, "of seeing my mother feeding and dressing the babe. However they took it away and talked of sending it to its supposed father, Col. George Gibson, of Carlisle, Pa., who was then and had been for many years, a trader among the Indians." The child was delivered to Gen. Gibson and was educated by him.

John Sappington declared in an affidavit that he did not believe any of Logan's family were killed aside from his brother. Neither of the squaws was his wife; two of them were old women and the other the mother of the child. It has been related that Sappington admitted that he shot Logan's brother.

After writing an account of the massacre of Logan's family, Col. William Crawford, to whom Washington had entrusted the sale of his western lands, and who subsequently met with horrible death by burning by the Indians near Sandusky, says, "Our inhabitants are much alarmed, many hundreds have gone over the mountains, and the whole country evacuated as far as the Monongahela. In short, a war is every moment expected. We have a council now with the Indians. What will be the event I do not know. I am now setting out for Fort Pitt at the head of one hundred men. Many others are to meet me there and at Wheeling, where we shall wait the motions of the Indians and shall act accordingly."

About this time many other like outrages were committed on the Indians by the whites, including the massacre of Captina. They seemed to be simultaneous, giving evidence of a conspiracy to incite the savages to war with the whites. It is also evident that Capt. or Dr. Connelly, the English commandant at Fort Pitt, was wholly responsible for the outrages on the Ohio and on its headwaters. Connelly's letter to Cresap, which occasioned his sudden removal from the seat of his enterprises, directed the murder of Indians and authorized the bloody work. All this in connection with the action of Dunmore, makes very strong circumstantial evidence against the English, who saw the storm cloud of the American Revolution forming in the great valley that extends from New York to the Carolinas.

There has been much written about the murder of Logan's people, the massacre being one of the blackest pages in the history of the Ohio country. The historian has enlarged on it and the poet has taken it as a theme. Cresap and Greathouse have been villified and a stain put upon their memory, while those really to blame remained at the head of a Christian nation. At the hour Connelly directed Cresap to kill Indians there was every indication that the savages were friendly; there was nothing whatever to indicate a possible uprising. Resolutions passed at an indignation meeting, held at Pittsburg, blamed Connelly, the members of the assembly declaring that every part of Connelly's conduct toward the friendly Indians convinced them that he meant to force them to war, as he both refused to protect, and endeavored to murder those Indians who, at the risk of their lives, came with the traders to protect them.

Col. Crawford and Maj. Angus McDonald, early in July, arrived at Wheeling with soldiers from the Virginia valley and the settlements along the Ohio river, about twelve hundred men, most of them inured to Indian warfare. Here they erected Fort Fincastle, and Maj. McDonald organized an expedition to make incursions into the Indian country, leaving on the 25th of July with about four hundred men, going to the mouth of Captina in boats and canoes. The Indians were overawed and sued for peace. McDonald having run out of provisions retraced his steps to Wheeling, his soldiers having to subsist largely on weeds. As soon as the soldiers were withdrawn the savages invaded and attacked the settlements, spreading terror in all directions. The settlers fled to the forts and block-houses, but many of them were murdered.

It was while at Wheeling that Lord Dunmore received advices from the British government that led to the treachery that forced the Lewises to fight the battle of Point Pleasant without the aid of promised reinforcements, and which was no less than part of the conspiracy to show the settlers that they had enough trouble at hand without entering upon an enterprise that might result in the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain.

Successive events that led up to the murder of Indians on the water front of Jefferson county demonstrated conclusively that the British had crushed the influence of Christian civilization in their hearts in order to fill its place with a wicked spirit to coerce the colonists to continue to bear the galling yoke of tyranny. Patrick Henry had delivered the speech that was heard over the mighty ocean. The Boston massacre had filled the country with horror. The tea had been thrown overboard in Boston harbor. Americans had been shot down on the banks of the Alamance by cruel soldiers of the crown. A congress of the colonists had been called. The Virginia House of Burgesses had passed a resolution to the effect that it would oppose, by all proper and just means, every injury to American rights, and the House had been dissolved by Dunmore. Hanover Presbytery, in Pennsylvania, had passed a declaration that had an omnious sound. Revolution was rife. An Indian war would unite the settlers on another matter of seemingly greater import. Capt. Connelly, commandant of Fort Pitt, by authority of Lord Dunmore, was in close communication with his lordship. He at once refused to protect friendly Indians when requested. All testimony goes to show that the Indians were never so tranquil as at the time Connelly sent the letter to Cresap, who was under his command, but between the two there was enmity; Cresap, being a Whig and Connelly of course a Tory. Connelly knew Cresap as a desperate man, who would take pleasure in killing Indians. The letter told him that war with the Indians was inevitable, and urged him to begin the bloody work at once. Connelly, knowing that the murder of a few Indians would at once raise the alarm for revenge throughout the Indian country, and put the savages upon the war path against the settlers, had two ideas in view: one to incite the Indians to war, the other to place the blame upon Cresap.

The settlers were to be left to fight as best they could, as Lewis was left at Point Pleasant.

History does not record a more terrible battle than that fought at Point Pleasant by Gen. Andrew Lewis [When Washington was appointed to command the Patriot army he insisted that Lewis should have been selected because of his superior skill] and his Scotch-Irish soldiers from the Virginia valley. Gen. Lewis was a leading actor in all the events in which he took part, yet "fame," says Caldwell, "has trumpeted to the world his exploits with feebler tone than the deeds of others of far lesser importance." Had the battle of Point Pleasant been fought on New England soil, the pages of history would have been filled with the name of Andrew Lewis. In order to show that the men who fought the battle of Point Pleasant were Scotch-Irish it is only necessary to append the names of the captains under the command of Gen. Lewis—George Matthews, Alexander McClanaghan, John Dickson, John Lewis, Benj. Harrison, Wm. Naul, John Haynes, Samuel Wilson, Matthew Arbuckle, John Murray, Robert McClanaghan, James Ward, and John Stewart.

The incidents occurring immediately over the river were so associated with the history of Jefferson county, that it seems necessary to note them in order to give a comprehensive view of this part of Ohio — it is at least necessary to show the strong character of the first settlers, those of Virginia and Pennsylvania being of the same blood as those of Jefferson county.

IV.

The Revolution Comes — The Ohio Country in Arms — Diabolical Outrages Committed by the Indians Incited by the British on Settlers as Described by Hildreth — Siege of Fort Fincastle which is Re-christened Fort Henry.

The Revolution came. Virginia, absolved from all allegiance to the crown, on June 29, 1776, adopted a constitution. Patrick Henry at the same time was elected governor. Ohio county was formed, which included the territory opposite the river front of Jefferson county. Fort Fincastle was rechristened Fort Henry, in honor of the noble Scotch-Irish Virginian, whose voice was ever for liberty, and preparations were made to defend the state against the savage allies of the English. Ohio county, says McKiernan, was to all intents and purposes a military colony. Every man able to bear arms was enrolled. The Indians, as mercenaries of the British, committed many diabolical outrages, and American soldiers that might have given more aid in the east, were compelled to fight the savage in the west, and thus prolonged the war. However Fort Henry was not garrisoned, as were the other forts on the Ohio, but by the settlers who sought its walls for protection. On the last day of August, 1777, began the terrible siege of this fort — one of the most stubborn and most successful defenses on record. There were nearly four hundred Indian warriors of the most blood-thirsty breeds, led by the cunning and skillful Girty, while in the fort there were only thirty defenders, according to Hildreth, and according to McKiernan only twelve men and boys, aside from the women, but brave women they were. The Indians were under the British flag and offered terms of surrender from Gov. Hamilton at Detroit, who gave the brave garrison fifteen minutes to surrender under his conditions. Col. Zane, who was in command of the small garrison, replied that the time was sufficient for them to deliberate which of the two to choose, slavery or death. They had consulted their wives and children and were resolved to perish, rather than place themselves under the protection of a savage army, or to abjure the cause of liberty and of the colonies. For twenty-three hours all was life, and energy, and activity within the walls of the fort. Every individual had duties to perform, says Caldwell, and promptly and faithfully were they discharged. The more expert of the women took stations by the side of the men, and handling their guns with soldier-like readiness, aided in the repulse, with fearless intrepidity. Some were engaged in making bullets; others in loading and supplying the men with guns already charged; while the less robust were employed in cooking. It seemed indeed as if each individual were sensible that the safety of all depended on his lone exertions, and that the slightest relaxation of these would involve them all in common ruin. Word had gone out that Fort Henry was invested by the Indians, and every effort was made to reënforce the garrison. It was on one of these attempts that Major Samuel McCullough was cut off from his men just as they were entering the gate of the stockade. The Indians wanted to capture him alive for torture, or else they could have shot him on several occasions. They made almost superhuman efforts to acquire possession of his person, and when he appeared among them they were greatly elated in their savage way. The fleetness of McCullough's horse was scracely greater than that of his enemies, who fairly flew in pursuit of the man who had evaded them just at the point of capture. When the Major reached the top of Wheeling hill, he was met by another band. He wheeled his horse and rode back over his own tracks, only to encounter those who were pursuing him. He was now surrounded on all sides, the fourth being a precipitous precipice of one hundred and fifty feet, with Wheeling creek at its base. According to the published accounts,[26] he supported his rifle in his left hand and carefully adjusting the reins with the other, he urged his horse to the brink of the bluff and then made the leap which decided his fate, one of the most daring acts of American history. He was soon beyond the reach of the Indians, safe and sound. The Indians, finding that they could make no impression on the fort, and fearing the coming of reinforcements, abandoned the siege, but not until they had burned everything in reach, including the houses within the stockade. Capt. Mason and a party who had gone out of the fort to investigate the forces of the enemy, were met by the savages and most inhumanly murdered with the tomahawk and the scalping knife. Upwards of three hundred head of cattle and hogs had been wantonly killed by the Indians.

Fort Henry was again besieged September 11, 1782, by a large force of Indians. The fort was still under command of Col. Zane and garrisoned by the settlers. This siege continued until the 13th, and was a most desperately fought battle. It was on the occasion of this siege that Elizabeth Zane, one of the most heroic women developed by the awful times of the

---

[26] Caldwell.

Revolution, when only the fittest survived the hardships if they escaped the bullet, the tomahawk or scalping knife of the British army of savages, ran out of the fort to the house of Col. Zane, and returned with a keg of powder in her apron and saved the fort. The Indians were so overwhelmed by her audacity that they watched her with amazement and permitted her to make the most hazardous and most successful expedition of that war. The achievement of the pioneer settlers of this region in maintaining the two sieges of Fort Henry is worthy more space in histories than it has been given. Both were battles of the Revolution, and as such deserve to rank in history with the other patriotic defences of the land. Not only was the garrison summoned to submit to the British authorities by a British official, but the northwest Indians, who assaulted the fortification, were as much the mercenary soldiers of Great Britain as were the Hessians and Waldecks who fought at Saratoga, Trenton and Princeton. If the price received by the Indians for the scalps of the Americans did not always amount to as much as the daily pay of the European minions of England, it was, nevertheless, sufficient to prove that the American savages and the German hirelings were precisely on the same footing as part and parcel of the British army.[27]

What is known as "the Squaw Campaign" of 1778, was in the bounds of the original Jefferson county. In February of that year General Hand, who desired to capture provisions and clothing sent to the Cuyahogas, left Fort Pitt with considerable force. Not succeeding in the designs of the expedition, he returned to Salt Lick, in the territory now Mahoning county, where he killed and captured a few squaws.

A strong effort was made by the commander at Detroit to entice the patriots from the cause of American freedom. He promised that if the settlers would return to the allegiance of the crown and trust themselves to the care of the Indian allies, they would be conducted to a place of security. It is a fact that only six could be found in this region who expressed desire to comply with the conditions offered by the British, their names being, George Baker, of near Logstown; James Butterworth, from the

---

[27] Caldwell.

Big Kanawha; Thomas Shoers, Harrodsburg, Ky.; Jacob Pugh, six miles below the fort at Wheeling; Jonathan Muchmore, from Fort Pitt; James Witaker, and John Bridges, Fish Creek. The Tories were not numerous in the west. The settlers were not of the breed out of which Tories were recruited. The Tories were mostly on the seaboard.

The expeditions of Indians concerted by the British at Detroit to lay waste the settlements, to outrage and kill the settlers, passed through Jefferson county. One expedition was in two divisions, one to cross the river below Wheeling, and the other sixty miles above, at Raccoon creek. In his account Withers says: "The division crossing below Wheeling was soon discovered by scouts who gave the alarm, causing most of the inhabitants to fly immediately to that place, supposing an attack was to be made upon it. The Indians, however, proceeded on their way to Washington, then Catfish camp, making prisoners of many, who, although apprised that the Indians were in the country, yet feeling secure in their distance from what they supposed would be the theatre of operations, neglected to use the precaution necessary to guard them against becoming captives to the savages. From all the prisoners they learned the same thing — that the inhabitants had gone to Fort Henry with a view of concentrating there to effect their repulsion. The intelligence alarmed the Indians. The chiefs held a council in which it was determined instead of proceeding to Washington, to retrace their steps across the Ohio, lest their retreat, if delayed, should be entirely cut off. Infuriated at the blasting of their hopes for blood and spoil, they resolved to murder all their male prisoners. Preparations to carry this resolution into effect were immediately begun to be made. The unfortunate victims to their savage wrath were led forth from among their friends and their families, their hands were pinioned behind them—a rope was fastened around the neck of each, and that bound around a tree, so as to prevent any motion of the head. The tomahawk and scalping knife were next drawn from their belts, and the horrid purpose of these preparations fully consummated. Imagination's utmost stretch can hardly fancy a more heart-rending scene than was there exhibited. Parents, in the bloom of life and glow of health, mercilessly mangled to death in the presence of their children, whose sobbing cries served but to heighten the torments of the dying; husbands cruelly lacerated, and by piecemeal deprived of life in view of the tender partners of their bosoms, whose agonizing shrieks, increasing the anguish of torture, sharpened the sting of death. It is indeed

'A fearful thing
To see the human soul take wing,
In any shape, in any mood;'

but that wives and children should be forced to behold the last ebb of life, and to witness the struggle of the departing spirit of husbands and fathers, under such horrible circumstances, is shocking to humanity, appalling, even in contemplation.[28]

This is but one of the hundreds of incidents of horrible cruelty inflicted by those who fought under the British flag upon the American patriots of the west. Yet there are New England historians who would have us believe that the Revolutionary war was fought within ten miles of Boston!

V.

Broadhead Notes Considerable Settlements in the Ohio Country as Early as 1779—Settlers Dispossessed by the Government and Their Cabins Destroyed—Some of Them Return to again be Turned Out—Large Settlement at Martins Ferry with a Town Government Previous to 1785—Settlers Threaten to Make a Stand Against the Troops—Names of the Squatters, Among Them that of John McDonald's Father—James Ross Settles at Mingo—The First White Child Born in Jefferson County His Son—Early Settlement at Tiltonville.

In a letter to General Washington, dated October 26, 1779, Gen. Broadhead notes the fact that there were considerable settlements all along the Ohio, and as far as thirty miles up the tributaries, between the Muskingum and Fort McIntosh. These settlers were of course called trespassers on the Indian land, as the Ohio side of the river was then known. These settlers were dispossessed, but returned, as noted below by Ensign Armstrong. After Congress issued orders for the settlers who had squatted on the west bank of the Ohio to remove until titles could be had from the Indians and then disposed of to settlers in a proper way, Col. Harmar sent a detachment of troops down the river from Fort McIntosh[29] to dislodge all who refused to obey the order. This detachment was under command of Ensign Armstrong who made report April 12, 1785. He crossed the Little Beaver on April 1, and dispossessed a family. Four miles below he found families living in sheds, but they having no raft on which to transport their goods, he gave them until the 31st, in which to leave. At the mouth of Yellow creek he dispossessed two families and destroyed their cabins with fire. We should think by this time the men who had fought the battles in the west and believed they won enough ground upon which to build a cabin and raise a little corn, had concluded that the government was more dangerous to life and property than the savage. On the 3rd he dispossessed eight families. On the 4th he arrived at Mingo, where he read his instructions to Joseph Ross, who would not believe the instructions came from Congress; neither did he care from whom they came, he was determined to hold possession; if his house were destroyed he would build another, or six more, for that matter, within a week. "He also," says the report of Armstrong, "cast many reflections on the honorable, the Congress and the commissioners and the commanding officer." Armstrong said he considered him a dangerous man, took him prisoner and sent him to Wheeling under guard. The other settlers, who seemed to be tenants under Ross, were given a few days' time, at the end of which they promised to vamose. On the evening of the 4th Charles Norris, with a party of armed men, arrived at the ensign's quarters and demanded his instructions; but they were soon convinced and lodged their arms with the officer. Armstrong learned from Norris that a large body of armed settlers had assembled eleven miles below, ready to resist his orders. On the 5th Armstrong arrived at the Norris settlement. He informed Norris that if the order were resisted he would fire on the settlers, and he ordered his own men to load. However, the settlers finally laid down their arms and agreed to remove to the east side of the river on the 19th. At Mercer town, now Martin's Ferry, he found quite a large settlement, John Carpenter and Charles Norris having been elected justices of the peace, and here was an organized government in Ohio before the settlement at Marietta. These people also agreed to obey the order and promised to remove by the 19th. Although the squatters along the west bank of the Ohio had banded together to resist the United States troops, and were actually organized and equipped with guns, they were finally induced to yield; but a compromise was effected, whereby they were given time to prepare temporary habitations on the east side of the river. The descendants of many of them now people this county. The names of the first settlers whose cabins were scattered throughout this region were as follows, many of them being familiar to those now living in this immediate vicinity:[30] Thomas Tilton, John Nixon, Henry Cassill, John Nowles, John Tilton, John Fitzpatrick, Daniel Menser, Zephenia Dunn, John McDonald,[31] Henry Froggs, Wiland Hoagland, Michael Rawlings, Thomas Dawson, Thomas McDonald,[32] William Shiff, Solomon Delong, Charles Ward, Frederick Lamb, John Rigdon, George Weleams, Jessie Edgerten, Nathaniel Parremore, Jesse Parremore, Jacob Clark, James Clark, Adam Hause, Thomas Johnson, Hanament Davis, William Wallace, Joseph Redburn, Jonathan Mapins, William Mann, Daniel Kerr, William Kerr, Joseph Ross, James Watson, Abertious Bailey, Charles Chambers, Robert Hill, James Paul, William McNees, Archibald Harben, William Bailey, Jones Amspoker, Nicholas Decker, John Platt, Benjamin Reed, Joseph Goddard, Henry Conrod, William Carpenter, John Goddard, George Reno, John Buchanan, Daniel Mathews.

---

[28] Hildreth.

---

[29] Mouth of the Beaver.

In the fall of the same year (1785) they returned, and had rebuilt the cabins destroyed by order of the government, and were found in possession by Gen. Butler, who, accompanied by James Monroe, afterward President, was sent out to again warn them off. It was this sort of tenacity of purpose in the character of the pioneers that gave them the force to succeed in their efforts to make homes in the wilderness.

---

[30] All but two or three Scotch-Irish. [31] The father of Col. John McDonald. [32] Uncle of Col. John McDonald.

Joseph Ross, who has already been mentioned in these sketches, was taken prisoner by Armstrong and conveyed to Fort Henry under guard. According to Caldwell, Ross was the father of the first white child born in Jefferson county. As early as 1784 Ross with wife and one son, Jacob, settled on Mingo bottom. Ross was a man of resolute will and considerable force. He and his family made their abode in the hollow stump of a sycamore tree; located on the old Jump place. As late as 1814, says Caldwell, there were people living here who had seen the stump from which a limb projected which had been hollowed and used for a smoke pipe. It was during the temporary abode in this stump that the first white child born in Jefferson county saw the light of day. At the time of this interesting event Ross was engaged in building a cabin. The child born in the tree stump was named Absalom, and at the time of his father's death had grown to be a fine young man. He stood six feet three inches, and weighed 250 pounds. He would walk two and three miles to and from his work among the farmers and split an hundred rails per day. The brother was with Van Buskirk in his fight with the Indians, in which battle Jacob shot an Indian in the back and pursued him to get his scalp, but as the Indian dived beneath some drift wood and the roots of a large tree, the body was not recovered. Absalom married Annie Edsell, whose father lived on an elevated point near Cross creek, on which is now the P. W. and Kentucky railroad, and died in 1867.

In Butler's report, dated October 1, 1785, it is noted that he found a number of settlers at Mingo town, among them one Ross, who seemed to be the principal man of the settlement. "I conversed with him and the others and warned them away. He said he and his neighbors had been misrepresented to Congress; that he was going to Congress to inform them that himself and neighbors were determined to be obedient to their ordinances, and we made an effort to assure them that the land would be surveyed and sold to poor and rich, and there would or could be no more of preference given to one than another, which seemed to give satisfaction."

As early as 1776 Joseph Tilton came to the Ohio country from Pennsylvania, and settled on land near the site of Tiltonville, where he lived with his family during the following, the eventful years of the Revolutionary war. He became an expert scout and was at two of the sieges of Fort Henry. After the survey he bought the land, on which he continued to live up to the time of his death, when it was divided among his children. An old gentleman who was acquainted with his son, Caleb Tilton, in his boyhood, informs the compiler that Caleb at that time was looked upon as the first white child born in Jefferson county, the date of birth being previous to 1784, at which time Absalom Ross was born, as noted above. The farm on which Tilton settled is now owned by William Medill. On it is a large mound from which W. L. Medill, Esq., has taken stone and copper instruments, including a copper needle and a large piece of mica. Adjoining the mound are the evident remains of an ancient fort, whose outlines are very distinct.

Others followed Tilton and settled at Warrenton and Tiltonville, and in the year 1785 there were large settlements at these points, and to-day many of their descendants are living on the lands then taken by their ancestors—the Maxwells, McClearys, Tiltons, and McCormacks.

The father of Ephraim Cable settled at the mouth of Island creek in 1785, where Ephraim was born the same year, and until recently was noted as the first white child born in the county. The father built a block-house, where he lived and reared the elder children of a family of twelve. Ephraim Cable served honorably in the war of 1812. Descendants still live in the county and his name has been also perpetuated by a bend in the Ohio river and by an eddy.

The date of the Cable settlement is questioned, local historians making it 1795, but there could have been no occasion for a blockhouse in 1795. The date 1785 has been given the compiler by a descendant.

NOTE.—Jesse Delong was born on Short creek about 1776, and died at the age of 106. —Rev. R. M. Coulter in *Cadiz Republican*, Oct. 31, 1895. He was possibly son of Solomon Delong mentioned on p. 137.

VI.

The Lochry Expedition—Those Taking Part are Inveigled to Shore by Indians and British and all but Two Killed out of 106—Capt. Thomas Stokely, Father of Gen. Samuel Stokely, Escapes—He was to have been Burned at the Stake, but is saved by Giving the Masonic Sign of Distress—The Massacre of Lochry's Men an Exciting Cause of the Massacre of the Moravian Indians by the Friends of Lochry from Western Pennsylvania—The Gnadenhutten Expedition of Col. Williamson—The Life of a Moravian Indian Maiden Saved by a Jefferson County Settler who Makes Her His Wife—A Respectable Family of the County a Result of the Union—Story of Sweet Corn—A Defense of Williamson and His Men—The Last Victim of Indian Revenge a Resident of Jefferson County.

What is known as the Lochry expedition, organized in Westmoreland county, Pa., in the spring of 1781, by Col. Archibald Lochry, the county lieutenant, under direction of Col. Crawford, has a very close association with the history of Jefferson county. Information of this expedition has been difficult to obtain. In searching the Archives of Pennsylvania, the compiler of these sketches, although aided by Dr. Egle, the painstaking historian and librarian of the state of Pennsylvania, has been able to gather only fragments which, put together, make one of the strongest indictments against the humanity of the British. It was one of the most disastrous expeditions of the Revolutionary period in the west, nearly all of the one hundred and six men in it having been massacred in the most cruel way by the Indians under the British flag and having in their possession British cannon, and, it is supposed, were commanded by a white man. As has been stated, the expedition was organized in 1781, the object being to accompany George Rogers Clark on an expedition to Detroit, where all the Indian enterprises to destroy the settlers were concocted by Gov. Hamilton. Under Col. Lochry was Capt. Thomas Stokely, the progenitor of the noted Stokely family of Steubenville, the father of Gen. Samuel Stokely; Capt. Boyd and Capt.

Orr. The ensign of Capt. Orr's company was Cyrus Hunter, the great-grandfather of the compiler. One account says that Lochry was to have met Clark at Fort Henry, and failing to arrive on time, was left word to follow down the river. Another account says that the mouth of the Big Miami was fixed as the place of rendezvous, but was subsequently changed to the Falls of the Ohio. On July 25 Col. Lochry and his command set out for Fort Henry, where they embarked in boats for their destination, the place of rendezvous. They passed down the Ohio to a point a few miles below the Big Miami, now Aurora, Ind., where they were inveigled to shore by the supposed friendly statement that Clark had camped there. "They were suddenly and unexpectedly assailed by a volley of rifle balls from an overhanging bluff, covered with large trees, on which the Indians had taken possession in great force." Col. Lochry and forty-one of his command were killed or wounded by the volley and the remainder were captured, most of whom were killed and scalped while prisoners. The supposition is that only two escaped, for Capt. Stokely and Capt. Boyd were the only two who turned up in Philadelphia, where they applied for clothing and means by which they could return to Westmoreland county. Col. Lochry was afterwards killed by a tomahawk while sitting on a fallen tree by an Indian, he having been wounded by the volley. Capt. Stokely gave an account of the expedition to his son Samuel, who afterward became Gen. Stokely, one of the noblemen of the Scotch-Irish race, and an early settler of Steubenville, a man of fine presence, gentle manners and of wide influence. As he was a man of literary attainments it was thought that he wrote the narrative as related by his father, but if he did do this service for posterity, the document cannot be found. But he in turn handed down the story through his son, M. S. Stokely, of Duluth, from whose lips the compiler received it. Capt. Stokely was wounded by the volley fired by the savages just after the boat landed, but fearing he would be killed if he showed evidences of disability, he assumed to be sound and was permitted to accompany the Indians on their march to Detroit. On the way, however, they camped and made preparations to burn him at the stake, under protection of the British flag, under whose standard they committed the cruelties that to this day fill the world with horror. Stokely was tied to the stake and the fire lighted, when he made the Masonic sign of distress. He was immediately taken from the stake and permitted to accompany the Indians. However, with Capt. Boyd he succeeded in making his escape, and a year after appeared before the council of war in Philadelphia, and it is recorded in the Archives of Pennsylvania that the two men "appeared before the council and, stating that they were refugees, were given provisions and clothing to aid them on their way to Westmoreland county." The Masonic sign as a means of relief from Indian torture is questioned by historians. Dr. Egle says he never heard of but one authentic case of an Indian recognizing the Masonic sign; this was a Canadian Indian. The grandson of Capt. Stokely says that he had always understood from his father's narrative of the story that the Indian chief with the party that massacred Col. Lochry and his soldiers was a Canadian Indian, and if the Canadian Indians were Masons, the story has foundation. Besides it is known that the Indians that inveigled Lochry and his brave men to disembark at the mouth of the Miami, were commanded by a white man, perhaps he was a British officer sent out by the brutal Hamilton from Detroit, for the officers at Detroit kept in touch with all the patriot expeditions by means of Indian spies.

Since the above was prepared for the press, the compiler has received further information about the Lochry expedition from Hon. C. A. Hanna, Treasurer of the Chicago Postoffice, who has in course of preparation an elaborate record of the pioneer families of Pennsylvania. Ensign Hunter must have returned as he left a manuscript account of the expedition. There were from 104 to 110 men in the Lochry command, of whom thirty-six privates and five officers were killed. The most of the remainder returned. James R. Albach's Annals of the West, Pittsburg, 1857, states that "More than half the number who left Pennsylvania under Col. Lochry returned." "This statement is derived from a manuscript of Gen. Orr of Kittanning, written from the recollection of his father, Captain

Orr, who was in the party, and is corroborated by a manuscript of Ensign Hunter, who was also a sharer in it." (See note p. 148.)

This massacre had much to do with bringing about the massacre of the Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten on March 7, 1782, for which the British were wholly responsible. In fact it was planned by the British at Detroit. The hostile Indians, who were the allies of the British, had captured the missionaries having the Moravian Indians in charge, and, with the Christian Indians, had taken them to Sandusky on a trumped-up charge. The winter following was a very severe one and provisions ran short. About one hundred of the Christian Indians were permitted to return to the Tuscarawas valley to gather corn left growing when they were taken away. At the same time warriors were sent out to murder the whites in the valley to incense the Americans against the Indians, knowing that they would organize and make cause against the Christian Indians in the Tuscarawas valley. These red warriors crossed the river at Steubenville and committed all sorts of awful depredations against the settlers, among them the murder of Mrs. Wallace and her babe. The plan laid by the British at Detroit was carried out.

Other depredations were committed in western Virginia and Pennsylvania. Prisoners were taken by Indians claiming to be Moravians. The government also suspected the Moravians with being very intimate with the British and furnishing information.

Col. Williamson hastily organized an expedition against the Indians who had committed the depredations, no doubt having also in mind the massacre of Lochry and his command. There were ninety men in the command when they organized at Mingo, on March 2, 1782. The result of this expedition fills a black page in history. The British no doubt thought the massacre of the Christian Indians a most diabolical deed. Col. Williamson with his men marched to the Tuscarawas, and finding the Indians there and in possession of Mrs. Wallace's bloody garments naturally supposed that the Christian Indians had murdered her, just as the British at Detroit had planned they would. There has been much written against Col. Williamson and the "murder" of the Christian Indians; but those who reproach his memory do not appreciate the conditions then existing. The pioneer to whom we owe everything is entitled to every doubt. He knew the treacherous nature of the Indian as well as of the British, and it was natural and especially during the border warfare of the Revolution, to suspect every Indian and trust none of them, Christian or otherwise; the British were Christians, and they were not trusted, and why should a savage under the flag of Britain be trusted simply because he professed Christianity? The pioneer who made this valley a home of peace for those who came after him, is worthy an enduring monument on every hill and in every valley, instead of clouding his memory with the charge of murder. When we celebrate the wonderful achievements of the pioneer fathers we should rejoice in their bravery, in their fortitude, in their endurance and steadfastness of purpose. They were wonderful men, the like of whom this country will never see more. The sentimentality that has been wasted on the Moravian Indians and the reproach cast upon Col. Williamson and his pioneer soldiers, as brave men as ever aimed the long rifle at the savage and made that aim count in one less British ally, has its parallel in the pioneer struggles in Pennsylvania, where the Indians would commit depredations on the hardy settlers, and then seek safety among the Quakers, who seemed to think it all right for the Indians to kill and destroy, but when the Paxtang boys, as they were known, undertook to retaliate, they were charged with murder, and to this day the Quaker writers have cast a cloud over the memory of these brave men, that it seems impossible to efface.

It is a fact that a family named Haverstock residing in that part of Jefferson county now Belmont county, is descended in direct succession from the Indians of the Moravian settlement at Gnadenhutten. The grandmother of the present Haverstocks was an Indian maiden named "Sweet Corn," and was in the field gathering corn with the other unfortunate members of her tribe, on the morning preceding the ill-fated day. As has been stated, the Moravians had been carried to "Captive's Town" in Wyandot county, the preceding fall, by order of the British authorities at Detroit, on suspicion of undue friendship for the American settlers. They passed a winter of great privation and suffering. They had but hastily and ill-constructed huts to shelter them from the winter of unusual severity, were possessed of but the scantiest means of provision and clothing and in the early spring the impoverished Moravians were in a state of entire destitution. It was thereupon determined to send a portion of the tribe—the younger and stronger—back to their grain fields on the Tuscarawas, where corn of the previous year's husbandry still hung unplucked, to there gather and return with the sustenance for the aged, the sick, and the enfeebled. As soon as the subsiding snows permitted, a Moravian relief band started for their old settlement, arriving there early in March, and at once began the work of collecting the corn. "Sweet Corn," a lovely Indian, and one of the Moravian converts, was with the expedition and was in the fields husking the grain when Col. Williamson's command approached. Joining Col. Williamson's forces at Mingo was a young hunter named John Haverstock, one of the most intrepid of the frontiersmen. He was noted among the pioneers for his great strength, agility and daring, and as one of the most skillful hunters, his boyish life having been spent in trapping and shooting in the unbroken forests then lying west of the Ohio, and now composing the counties of Jefferson and Belmont. Losing his parents in childhood, he had practically made his home in the woods with no companion but his gun, sustaining himself on game and amusing himself with daring adventure. On the evening of the 7th the American forces were nearing the quiet and unsuspecting Indian village, John Haverstock scouting somewhat in advance of the command, and penetrating to the edge of the heavy forest which skirted the Tuscarawas bottoms, his gaze was suddenly rivited by the bewitching loveliness of the maiden as she industriously husked her grain for those who hungrily waited on the Sandusky plains. Col. Williamson's men were kindly received at the village and hospitably entertained. Upon their advent Haverstock laid immediate siege to the heart of gentle "Sweet Corn." The maid was not averse to the noble presence of the young white hunter and her troth was plighted to the American. To his dying day John Haverstock maintained that no evil design was originally meditated against the Moravian settlement, although some of the men attached to the command of Col. Williamson insisted that the Moravians were giving aid and comfort to the hostile savages of the northwest. But a bloodstained dress was found in one of the cabins and suddenly produced among Williamson's men, which it was insisted had been on the person of Mrs. Wallace at the time of her capture by the Indians a short time before. The minds of the patriots became greatly embittered by the recent enormity of the Wallace murder and other diabolical outrages. This discovery developed into an immediate demand for revenge. The determination was that of wholesale slaughter. The work of butchery progressed until the charnal house was made complete. Amid this carnage nothing but the known heroic daring and prowess of Haverstock saved the weeping "Sweet Corn" from the fate of her tribe. As the work of blood ran riot the colossal form of John Haverstock towered before the wigwam of the terrified Indian girl like an impenetrable wall of steel between her and the danger without. Rifle and tomahawk clutched in hand, he warned the maddened Americans that he would visit death on any who would attempt to approach her place of refuge. On the return march he carried the maiden to the American settlement at Mercertown, where she became the bride of her protector, and became the mother of a respected line of descendants, from one of whom, the late W. T. Campbell, Esq., these details were gathered. Haverstock at one time had an encounter with Simon Girty on Mingo bottom.

It has never been charged that the Christian Indians murdered Mrs. Wallace and her babe, but it is evident that the pioneers believed that they were guilty of the crime. The Indians who killed Mrs. Wallace sold the dress to the unsuspecting Moravians, having in view the result. They had hidden in the neighborhood of Gnadenhutten until after the massacre, and then made a swift run to claim premiums for scalps offered by the British at Detroit. The news of the massacre was soon in possession of the warriors on the Sandusky, Miami, Scioto and the Wabash. Revenge most terrible was demanded of the warriors by the chiefs "in corresponding magnitude to the murders committed on their kin." Simon Girty, one of the most skilled of the English officers.

for such he was, first incited the Indians to commit crimes to arouse the whites to murder the Indians, and then called upon the Indians to avenge the destruction of their people. It hardly seems reasonable that the English would employ a man of Girty's diabolical spirit, but the evidence is undisputed. He took the oath under Connelly, and was received with open arms by Hamilton. At all the British camps it was "determined to take two-fold vengeance on the Americans. A vow was made that no white man should ever have the Tuscarawas valley for a home, but that it should remain uncontaminated by his presence, and that the boundary line of all future treaties should be the Ohio river, for ever and ever."[33] Each prisoner was to be taken to the scene of the massacre and there dispatched by the tomahawk and firebrand until the two-fold vengence had been consummated. And how many pioneers felt the scalping knife and the tomahawk as the result of this resolution!

According to Caldwell, in the year 1785, an escaped prisoner crossed the river at the scene of the massacre and reported at the Wheeling fort that he saw no human in the valley. "The bones of the Christian Indians were scattered about over the ground, and the fruit trees planted by the Moravians were in bloom, but the limbs had been broken by the bears, and the place had become the abode of only rattlesnakes and wild beasts."

There is now a Moravian church on the site of the Moravian Indian missions, this church having been organized a hundred years ago (1798). It is now under the charge of Bishop Henry Van Vleck, who has in his possession many relics of the massacred Indians, including an iron hand corn-mill, brought out to the unbroken west by Heckewelder and his fellow missionaries. He also has in his museum pieces of charred remains of the cabins, together with a portion of the historic tree that was blown down a few years ago. Bishop Van Vleck is a most conscientious historian, and is incensed over the fact that modern graves and monuments have been permitted to desecrate the ground in which the Moravian Indians are buried and await the resurrection morn.

The first actor in the awful tragedy and the last victim of the Indian vengeance was a Jefferson county settler, Chas. Bilderback, one of Williamson's men. He was a Virginian who had settled on Short creek, and was one of the bravest of the pioneers who won the west with the long rifle. He was with Crawford, but escaping returned to his cabin at the mouth of the creek. Seven years after the massacre, when he had concluded that he was to escape the vengeance of the Indians, both he and his wife were captured by the savages near their cabin. They first captured Bilderback and his brother, Mrs. Bilderback having hid in the bushes; but they were determined to have her also, and told Bilderback to call his wife or they would scalp him alive. He called her, telling her of the fate if she did not come. She then responded and the three were taken to the Tuscarawas. Mrs. Bilderback and her brother-in-law were taken to the site of Uhrichsville, while Bilderback was conveyed to Gnadenhutten. In a few hours the Indians that had Bilderback in charge came to the camp and threw into Mrs. Bilderback's lap the scalp of her husband. She was overcome and fainted, but was taken to the Miami valley, where she remained a captive for nine months, when she was ransomed. In 1791 she married John Green and moved to Fairfield county, and it is said gave birth to the first white child born in that county. Bilderback killed the first Moravian removed on that ill-fated day, the name of his victim being Shabosh. He was the last white man known to have been in the massacre who paid the forfeit of his life for connection therewith.

---

[33] Caldwell.

The centennial of this massacre was celebrated at Gnadenhutten by the erection of a monument to the memory of the Christian Indians who were the victims of Col. Williamson's men. The addresses delivered reflected on the brave pioneers who were severely censured, when the crime should have been charged not to the brave hearts who made this state a part of the Republic and a home of peace, but to the Christian nation over the sea that waged warfare with the tomahawk, the scalping knife and the firebrand.

NOTE.—Since the above was put in type, a letter to the compiler from Hon. C. W. Butterfield, author of "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," "Crawford's Sandusky Expedition," "Biographies of the Girty's," and certainly the most thorough of writers of pioneer history, questions the masonic story. Girty was with the Indians, there being 600. McKee was in the party, his name being signed to a report of the victory over the Americans sent to Detroit. Capt. Stokely commanded a company of state troops. The British thought they had captured Col. Clarke, whom they had hoped to burn at the stake.

VII.

Crawford's Disastrous Expedition—Rendezvous at Mingo—Jefferson County Men Participating in the Battle and Retreat—The British Responsible for the Cruel Death of Col. Crawford, the Most Horrible in Civilized Warfare—The British Considered the Results of the Battle a Great Victory—The Great Age Attained by Indian Scouts who Escaped Death at the Hands of the English Savage Allies—Escape of John Sherrard, Michael Myers and Others.

There has not been written a chapter of history more thrilling, and record has not been made of a more horrible fate of a military leader than that of Crawford's defeat, and his death by fire, June 11, 1782, at the hands of the savage minions of the English. After the massacre at Gnadenhutten, Simon Girty had inspired the Indians with such awful spirit of revenge that no pioneer's life was safe. The red savages were making their way through the settlements, plundering and burning in every direction, and the whites captured were treated without mercy. Doddridge tells us that the people were forced into the forts which dotted the country in every direction. "These forts were cabins, blockhouses and stockades. In some places where the exposure was not great, a single blockhouse, with a cabin outside, constituted the whole fort. A space around the fort was usually cleared away, so that an enemy could neither find a lurking place nor conceal his approach. Near these forts the borderers worked their fields in parties, guarded by sentinels. Their necessary labors were performed with every danger and difficulty imaginable. Their work had to be carried on with their arms and all things belonging to their war dress deposited in some central place in the field. Sentinels were stationed on the outside of the fence, so that on the least alarm the whole company repaired to their arms and were ready for the combat in a moment." It is not at all surprising that there was such widespread feeling of revenge against the hostile Indians, especially so when it was known they were paid to burn cabins and murder women and children. The horrid scenes of slaughter which frequently met the view were well calculated to arouse the spirit of the pioneer American who really had the brunt of the Revolutionary war to shoulder.

"Helpless infancy, virgin beauty, and hoary age, dishonored by the ghastly wounds of the tomahawk and scalping knife, were common sights. When the slain were the relatives of the beholder — wife, sister, child, father, mother, brother — it is not at all a wonder that pale and quivering lips should mutter revenge. It should seem," continues Doddridge, "that the long continuance of the Indian war had debased a considerable portion of our population to the savage state of our nature. Having lost so many of their relatives by the Indians, and witnessed their horrid murders and other depredations upon so extensive a scale, they became subjects of that indiscriminating thirst for revenge which is such a prominent feature in the character in the savage." Mr. Doddridge may call the incentive to remove the savage what he please, but there is no civilized people living even in this advanced age that would not follow the footsteps of the pioneer fathers under like conditions. It was these depredations that gave spirit to the fatal Crawford expedition and defeat; it was these depredations that gave the pioneer the spirit to fight the Indian until he was exterminated, for the whites and the reds could not live in peace in the same country, and the white man had come to open the great empire west of the three rivers and whose gateway was Fort Pitt.

The Revolutionary war was now almost at an end in the east, for Cornwallis had met his fate at Yorktown, but in the west it was continued with savage vigor. On May 20, the western troops began to rendezvous on Mingo Bottom. On the 21st Gen. Irvine, who had command of the western department, wrote to Gen. Washington: "The volunteers are assembled this day at Mingo Bottom, all on horseback, with thirty days' provisions." It was to have been a secret expedition with the expectation of surprising the Indians at Sandusky. According to Irvine's instructions, they were to "destroy with fire and sword (if practicable), then you will doubtless perform such other services in your power as will, in their consequences, have a tendency to answer this great end." On May 24, all the men were at the place of meeting. John Rose, an aide-de-camp of Gen. Irvine, wrote the general: "Our number is actually four hundred and eighty men." After a lively contest Col. Crawford was elected to command, he receiving two hundred and thirty-five and Williamson two hundred and thirty votes. "On the morning of Saturday, May 25," says Butterfield in his work on the Crawford expedition to Sandusky, "the army under Crawford, in four columns, began its march from Mingo Bottom, in the straightest direction, through the woods, for Sandusky, distant one hundred and fifty miles. The route lay through what is now the counties of Jefferson, Harrison, Tuscarawas, Holmes, Ashland, Richland and Crawford. The whole distance, except about thirty miles, was through an unbroken forest. The only indication of civilization — and that a very sad one — in all the region to be traversed, was the wasted missionary establishments in the valley of the Muskingum. As the cavalcade moved up over the bluff, an almost due course west was taken, striking at once into the wilderness, now deepening and darkening around it. The army progressed rapidly at first, moving along the north side of Cross creek, which had already received its name. After leaving what is now Steubenville township, it passed through the present townships of Cross Creek and Wayne, Jefferson county, and German township, Harrison county, to the summit where the town of Jefferson now stands." The Panhandle railroad follows this trail for a hundred miles. Although every precaution had been taken to make the expedition a surprise, the British Indians who had spies out, knew of the rendezvous and the objective point of the expedition. It is said that Indians were on the hill back of Mingo, watching every movement made by the small patriot army; they knew the plans of the commander as they were talked over in the councils of war, and therefore the Indian forces at Sandusky were prepared for the onslaught. The Indians, Girty was also with them, and British were commanded by Capt. William Caldwell, chief in command; Capt. Elliott, Capt. McKee, Capt. Grant, Lieut. Turney, Lieut. Clinch, and Simon Girty.

The result of the battle is known to every school boy, for it has been printed in all the histories of the west.[34] The battle was considered of great importance by the British, and reports of it are on file in the British War Office. Capt. Caldwell in a report to Maj. De Peyster, dated "Lower Sandusky, June 13, 1782," says: "Simon Girty arrived last night from the Upper Village (Half King's town). He informed me that the Delawares had burned Col. Crawford and two captains at Pipe's town, after torturing them a long time. Crawford died like a hero; never changed his countenance tho' they scalped him alive, and then laid hot ashes upon his head; after which they roasted him by a slow fire."

Col. Crawford was one of the great men of the Revolutionary period. He was Washington's equal, if not superior, in the profession of arms; he was beloved by Washington, for he was his friend and companion, and like Washington he was trusted in the fullest measure by those whose hearts were in the patriot cause. Col. Crawford's awful death at the stake was the most tragic event of the conflict carried on in the Ohio country against the heroic patriots by a civilized nation by means of all the diabolical devices that the savage mind could conceive, and all these atrocious modes of torturing men were employed to make a very hell of the last hours of the life of one of the noblest men America ever produced. Burning him at the stake was not enough to satiate the satanic desires that made devils of human kind; they shot his flesh full of powder from head to foot; they cut off his ears and thrust burning sticks into his blackened body. It was not enough to cloy the diabolical yearnings in the savage breast to pull the flesh from the body of their victim as he walked through the burning coals; it was not enough to satisfy the eyes of those in whose hearts all human feeling had been stifled, to fill these wounds with red-hot ashes — they must have torture more cruel to complete the savage saturnalia, and they tore the scalp from his head and filled the opening with coals! And a Christian nation engaged in civilized warfare, incited the savages and urged them on to deeds so appalling, so awful, so cruel, that history does not record a parallel! But, Col. Crawford died like the martyr to a grand cause that he was, — with a smile on his lips he turned his eyes to heaven, as his spirit took its flight.

---

[34] See the very graphic accouut of the life of Col. Wm. Crawford written by Judge James H. Anderson, a most painstaking historian, just published (1897) by the Ohio Historical Society.

Of those taking a prominent part in the Crawford Expedition, Michael Myers, John Sherrard and Martin Swickard afterwards settled in Jefferson county, all having respected descendants who to-day hold prominent positions in social and business affairs. Swickard and Myers were together for a time during the retreat and the hardships suffered by them, if recorded, would make a very entertaining volume. At the loan exhibition, connected with the centennial celebration, J. A. Swickard, a grandson of Martin, had on view the powderhorn carried by his grandfather. The horn was etched with a crude representation of the British arms and must have been taken from an Indian. John Sherrard was the grandfather of the late Hon. R. Sherrard, and great-grandfather of Col. H. C. Sherrard, of Gov. Foraker's staff, as well as that of Gov. McKinley. Sherrard kept a diary of the expedition which has been employed to correct misstatements that have crept into history. During the battle on Sandusky Plains the air was very hot, and the soldiers suffered much from thirst. Sherrard, whose gun had become disabled, undertook to find water for the troops, and finding a pool of stagnant water about the stump of a fallen tree he slaked his own thirst and, filling his canteen and his hat, carried the stagnant water to the soldiers, who drank it with much satisfaction. He continued to fill the canteens from this pool and carried them to the soldiers while the bullets flew thick about him. In the retreat, according to Butterfield's account, "Sherrard overtook the main body of the army just before the latter left the woodland again to thread its way in the open country, in what is now Crawford county. His story is a melancholy one. In company with Daniel Harbaugh, after having become separated from the division to which he belonged, just as the retreat commenced the evening before, he had followed as best he could the main body of the troops, making, however, very slow progress, owing to the darkness, which rendered it

---

NOTE.—Philip Smith, who was with the Crawford Expedition, settled near Steubenville in 1799, where he lived until 1812, then removing to Wayne county.

exceedingly difficult to keep the trail of the retreating forces. It was a fortunate circumstance that the two followed in the rear of the division moving to the southwest from the field of battle, for had they taken the track of McClelland's party which led between the camps of the Delawares and Shawanese, both doubtless would have been killed or captured. Not long after sunrise the next morning they gained the woods, and moving along the trace on the east side of the Sandusky, some distance south of where the old town formerly stood, Sherrard, who was riding in advance of his companion, saw an Indian a short distance away on his left. He immediately dismounted and got behind a tree, calling at the same time to his companion to place himself in like posture of defense. Harbaugh had not been quick enough to discover the Indians, for in getting upon the exposed side of the tree, he was immediately shot by the savage, exclaiming as he gradually sunk down in a sitting posture, 'Lord, have mercy upon me, I am a dead man!' and immediately expired. As soon as the smoke of the Indian's gun had cleared away, the savage was discovered by Sherrard, running as if for life, doubtless expecting a shot from the latter; but he had already escaped from the reach of a bullet. At the sight of Harbaugh's pale face his friend was greatly moved; more unmanned than at any of the scenes witnessed during the battle. After a moment to collect his thoughts, Sherrard stripped the saddle from his dead companion's horse and turned the animal loose. He then relieved his own horse from a very uncomfortable packsaddle and put in its place the saddle of Harbaugh. Mounting and taking a parting glance at the prostrate form of his companion, still in a sitting posture, he rode sadly onward. Sherrard had proceeded on the trail not a very great distance when he made the discovery that in the excitement of the moment he had neglected to disengage from the packsaddle a supply of provisions which were rolled up in a blanket. He resolved to retrace his steps and secure the provisions. Upon returning to the place where Harbaugh was shot, a shocking spectacle was presented to his view. The Indian had returned and had scalped the lifeless soldier and then made off with his horse, gun and bridle. Sherrard's packsaddle and blanket had not, however, been discovered by the savage. Sherrard having secured his provisions again resumed his journey, overtaking the retreating army without again encountering an enemy, and was cordially greeted by his companions in arms."

Wm. Myers, the grandson of Michael Myers, is still living in Jefferson county, his home being in the town of Toronto, the site of which was included in the land given his father for services during the Revolutionary war. The son is now, (January, 1898) eighty years of age and still possesses the "long rifle" with which his father did wonderful execution in the days when every pioneer was a soldier. This rifle was also among the relics of the loan exhibition. Michael Myers died, it is said, at the age of one hundred and seven years, but this is not positively known, for the family records were lost in the great flood in the Ohio river in 1832. Some years ago the son gave an account of his father's life to a historical writer of The Steubenville Gazette, a synopsis of which is not without interest at this time. He was born at Winchester, Va., in 1745, and in 1771 settled on Pigeon creek, in western Pennsylvania, and was a prominent actor in all the Indian warfare of his time, his knowledge of the woods and of the Indian character qualifying him for the hazardous tasks undertaken by him and his fellow-scouts. He was a physical giant and possessed a well-balanced mind; was one of the fleetest of the scouts, while his aim was ever true. After the Gnadenhutten massacre the exposed condition of the frontier made it necessary for a patrol of the Ohio, and Myers was one of the scouts selected for this work. He usually dressed in Indian fashion and had the faculty of imitating the savages in many ways. A part of his duty consisted in patrolling from Mingo Bottom up the west bank of the Ohio to the mouth of Yellow creek, where he would remain over night, cross the river and return by the Virginia shore next day. While thus employed he frequently stopped to drink at Poplar spring, about a mile below Toronto, and on one occasion when approaching the spring, he found it in possession of the Indians. He raised his rifle, fired, and the largest of the savages fell into the spring. Myers retreated with other savages in hot pursuit, but he had faith in his legs, and by the time he reached the island he was far in advance of the Indians, and Capt. Brady[35] who was waiting for him, had time to convey him across the river before the Indians reached that point. When they had secured their canoe on the other side, according to Myers' testimony, Brady declared that he could hit one of the Indians on the opposite shore. Myers expressed doubt, and Brady took aim, fired, and the Indian fell, pierced by a bullet.

Myers was a captain of scouts in the Crawford Expedition, and was one of the men who, like Col. Crawford, became separated from the army, and immediately found himself surrounded by a horde of yelling savages. Such was his immense strength and fleetness that he succeeded in escaping from his foes, rifle in hand, only to be met by another band, in fighting which he was wounded in his leg by an arrow. Pulling this out, he hastened onward, only to be again surrounded by a still larger party of Indians, and here he had to fight. Clubbing with his rifle he managed to keep them at a distance, but was finally struck by a tomahawk on the neck and again on the elbow, which forced him down upon his hands and knees. He was almost in the grasp of the Indians, when by a superhuman effort he raised himself and dashed through the ranks of the savages at full speed. In endeavoring to find the army he came across a companion scout who was wounded in the hip, and who was fearful of being left to die alone. Myers tried to assist him, and finally got him into a swamp, and then, hearing Indians approaching, was obliged to leave him to his fate. While in the swamp Myers got his rifle and ammunition so wet they were worthless, and he threw them away. He arrived at Fort Henry without further adventure. After Crawford's retreat the garrison at the fort was advised of the Indian council at Chillicothe, and that it had been determined to attack Fort Henry. Myers was one of the scouts who informed the garrison of the approach of the savages and British. There was no time for preparation, but the pioneers were enabled to hold out against the siege of the united forces of the Indians and British, who finally retreated over the Ohio. After this time it does not appear that Myers was engaged in any other general conflict with the Indians, but after peace had been restored he could hardly restrain himself from killing any Indian that came upon his path. Even in his old age he refused to attend an "Indian show" on exhibition in his town, saying that he was not too good to put a hole through one of the savages, should he see them in the ring.

---

[35] The noted Indian scout.

Before the days of steamboating Myers followed flatboating. The settlers on the Upper Ohio raised wheat, which they turned into flour, and rye, which they turned into whiskey, and these commodities were shipped to New Orleans and intermediate points, this business being the principal source from which the settlers derived their incomes. Myers made eleven trips to New Orleans on flatboats and returned overland through an almost unbroken wilderness. He made his last trip near the close of the last century. He and his brother were stricken with the yellow fever at New Orleans. The brother died and Michael was robbed of $1600. After this he did not visit New Orleans, but confined his trips to Louisville and other points. About 1795 he located on land purchased by him on Croxton's run, and in 1799 built a log cabin on the bank of the Ohio near the mouth of the run. In 1800 he brought his family in a flatboat from what is now Monongahela City and became one of the first settlers. This boat served many years as a ferry boat. In 1808 he built a grist mill on Croxton's run, which, by being kept in repair, ran until 1861. At about the same time he built a stone house, the first of the kind in this part of Ohio, thirty by forty feet, which was kept as a hotel for forty years.

As stated, Myers was about one hundred and seven years of age at his death. This is indicated on his tomb in Sugar Grove graveyard. But all the old hunters lived to a wonderful age, notwithstanding the terrible privation and exposure they underwent, and the numerous wounds they received at the hands of the Indians. Andrew Poe was ninety-six, Adam Poe eighty-nine, and Lewis Wetzel eighty-seven. It was well that the pioneer fathers were of stern stuff. Myers retained his faculties to the last, and at the age of one hundred and five years was more vigorous than most men are at eighty. His immense and powerful frame was scarcely any shrunken at the time of his death, and above all, his wonderful fund of Indian stories made him an object of awe among all his neighbors. There were giants in those days.

During his lifetime Myers frequently told his neighbors that Crawford was apprehensive of his fate when he found the Indian village deserted, fearing an ambush, and counseled retreat, but was urged on to his horrible fate by Col. Williamson and other officers in whom Col. Crawford and his men had the fullest confidence.

Myers was with Cresap when the two Indians were killed in the canoe, the first killed as the result of the advice or rather order of Capt. Connelly, under instructions of Dunmore.

The homeward march of the retreating army under Williamson was along the trail of the army when outward bound to the Muskingum. The stream was crossed on the 10th, between the two upper Moravian towns. From this point to the Ohio "Williamson's trail" was followed, the troops reaching Mingo Bottom on the 13th, when to their great joy they found that several of the missing had arrived before them, some two days previous. Opposite Mingo Bottom, on the 13th, the troops went into camp for the last time. On the 14th they were discharged, and the awful campaign of twenty days' duration was ended.

VIII.

Some of the Jefferson County Frontiersmen—Romantic Story of James Maxwell—His Cabin on Rush Run Burned by the Indians—He Kills Many Indians, but After the Wayne Victory Discovers that His Babe had been Stolen and She is Returned to Him—A Note of Wetzel's Camp at Mingo—John McDonald an Early Resident at Mingo—An Account of His Deeds by His Friend, Dr. Morgan—Sketches Prepared by Him Lost by Henry Howe—Other Indian Fighters whose Achievements were in Jefferson County—The Poes—The Brave Johnson Boys.

Among the first to brave the danger of pioneer life was James Maxwell,[36] who was obliged to leave his home in Virginia to avoid prosecution for a murder of which he was subsequently proven innocent. He was a cousin of Col. Zane, and it was the Zane settlement he attempted to reach to find security; but such was not the case, as Zane ordered him to leave at once or he himself would convey him to Berkeley county, Virginia, where the crime was said to have been committed. Maxwell left and came up the river, building his cabin near the mouth of Rush run. Here he lived solitary for about two years, when Cresap's massacre aroused the Indians to terrible vengeance, and obliged him to leave his cabin and hermit life and take refuge in Fort Fincastle, afterwards Fort Henry. Here he learned that his innocence of the crime charged against him had been proved, and he immediately set out on foot for his old home in Virginia, where he remained until 1780, when he again returned to Rush run, bringing with him his young bride, who had chosen the toils and privations of pioneer life to be with the man she loved. Another cabin was erected, commanding a fine prospect of the river, and gradually a small patch was cleared for corn. Still Maxwell and his wife were obliged to live almost as primitively as the Indians around them. They were far from even the outskirts of civilization. The Indians soon came to know Maxwell's cabin and the kindness of "Wild Rose," as they called his wife. Both treated all the red men who came to their cabin, friendly, and the Indians, while stealing from every other white settler in the valley, never molested Maxwell's property. But the temporary peace which had been prevailing was soon to be broken. So daring and gross were the outrages of the Indians becoming that many of Maxwell's neighbors erected blockhouses, to which they might retreat in case of attack, and stored them with arms and provisions; but his confidence in his exemption from any attack was too great to allow him to appear suspicious of those who came backward and forward to his dwelling in so much apparent friendship. In the meantime a daughter had been born to them, whom they called Sally. When the daughter was about three years old she was left in charge of a young man visiting them, while the parents went to Fort Henry. They had intended staying there two days, but what they learned of the uprising of the Indians alarmed them, and urged by members of the Wheeling settlement, they immediately started for home to bring their daughter and visitor back to the fort to remain until the agitation subsided. As they drew near their cabin the air became thick with smoke, and when they entered the cleared ground, and looked for their home, no home was there. Instead burning logs and smoking ruins; around the ground was trodden with many feet of moccasined men. A tomahawk smeared with fresh blood lay among the embers, and near by lay the charred remains of their late visitor, but not a trace could they discover of their daughter. Sally was certainly dead; the fresh blood only proved that too clearly, and her body had been consumed by the flames! The mother was crazed by the terrible calamity, and snatching the hunting knife from her husband's belt, almost severed her head from the body. Broken-hearted by his double affliction, Maxwell felt that he could not hold his hands in despair. All the settlers had assembled at Fort Henry; they were soon notified by the infuriated husband, and all decided to follow the trail of the savages through the woods, but during the first night heavy rains fell, causing all traces of the trail to disappear and the baffled party were reluctantly obliged to return in order to defend their own homes and families from a similar fate. Then it was that Maxwell swore to be avenged for the destruction of his home and the death of his child, and single-handed for months he shadowed the red murderers through the dim forest until his grudge had been glutted a hundredfold, and his name inspired as much terror among the Indians as that of Simon Kenton or Lewis Wetzel. Maxwell did not appear again in this vicinity until about the time Fort Steuben was completed by Capt. Hamtramck, in February, 1787. Col. Zane recommended him to the captain as a scout for the new fort. Zane said his eye was keener and his tread lighter than those of the most wily savage. He rivaled even that subtlest of Indian hunters, Lewis Wetzel. It was on a scouting expedition from this fort that he met the party of Indians who had fired upon old John Wetzel and a companion, who were going down the river in a canoe, and not obeying the command of the Indians to stop, Wetzel was shot through the body. He saved his friend, who was mortally wounded, from further outrage by directing him to lie in the bottom of the canoe, while he paddled beyond the reach of the savages. He died upon reaching the shore, and his death was terribly avenged by his son. Maxwell, who had acquired the habit of loading his gun while at a full run, was chased by this same party from tree to tree, until he had killed three of the six, and the others thinking him always loaded, left him. Maxwell returned to the fort that night with three scalps. He became the very embodiment of daredevilism and had so many hairbreadth escapes from his inveterate foes, that some parts of his career that have come down through tradition ar certainly much exaggerated. He is said to have been surprised and captured by a party of Indians who had closely watched his movements. To have shot or tomahawked him would not have been gratification equal to that of satiating their revenge by burning him at a slow fire in the presence of all the Indians in the village. He was therefore taken alive to their encampment, and after the usual rejoicing over the capture of a noted enemy he was made to run the gauntlet, after which he was blackened and tied to a stake while the fires were kindled. Just as the savages were about to begin the torture, a heavy rain put out the fire. The storm ceasing, the Indians concluded not to finish the torture that day, and so postponed it. During the night the Indians taunted the "soft stepper", as he was called by them, who was bound to a log by a buffalo thong around his neck, and his hands were bound to his back with cords. At last those watching him fell asleep, and Maxwell began trying to loose the cords, and soon extricated one of his arms. It was but the work of a few minutes for him to pull the strap binding him to the log over his head, and quietly getting a pair of moccasins and a jacket from one of his watchers, he sneaked away to where the horses were corralled, selecting the first horse he came across, he was soon far away from his captors. He arrived in Wheeling safely, and it was not long until he was again on the trail of another band of Indians led by Simon Girty. He abandoned the pursuit, however, and was not again actively engaged in Indian warfare until the campaign of 1790, when he acted as a scout for Gen. Harmar. After St. Clair's defeat the next year, he returned home and fished along the banks of the Ohio until he joined Wayne, and was a scout in the battle of Fallen Timbers. It was during Wayne's campaign that he discovered that his daughter had not been burned in his cabin twelve years before, but had been taken by a chief and by him sold to wandering Hurons, who had been expelled by their foes, the Iroquois, to the territory at about the headwaters of the Mississippi. He also learned that she, whose supposed cruel death he had been avenging, was still living among the Hurons. No sooner did he hear this from an Indian of the Huron tribe than he set out for their land. He had no doubts, no fears, that she was not his daughter. How he identified her is not known, but in the course of a year after his departure he returned, bringing with him a beautiful and well-proportioned girl of about sixteen years of age. She could speak no word of English and had no recollection of her former home. After she had become reconciled to her father and was able to speak his language, she told how her life had been spent among the Hurons, where her beauty and white skin had made her almost a goddess. She had always thought herself a daughter of the chief and had often wished that she could darken her skin and hair so she could more resemble the other maidens of the tribe. Although knowing nothing of the ways of civilized society, Sally was not by any means totally unaccomplished. Her adopted father had taught her to fear the great spirit, speak the truth and to bear pain without a murmur. She learned that the important part of the Indian woman's duty was to raise the vegetables needed for food, to prepare savory dishes of venison and other game, to make their garments, ornamenting them with uncommon skill and taste, and to manufacture baskets. She knew all the herbs, roots and barks that observation and tradition had taught the Indian to employ in the cure of diseases; all the trees and shrubs were known to her by the Indian name, and she was skilled in domestic surgery. For a long time she pined for the freedom of her Indian home, but the kindness and patience of the matrons living near Fort Henry, finally weaned her away from all inclination to return. Her father, now that his daughter was found and peace restored between him and the red man, his occupation was gone. He hunted and fished, but finally drifted into the bad habit of intoxication. One day his body was found by hunters, floating in the river near his old cabin, at the mouth of Rush run. No marks of violence were on it and it was generally believed that he had committed suicide during the remorseful period following a drunken spree. Sally, on account of her great beauty and romantic career, was the belle of the region about her home. Two of her many admirers became so jealous that they fought a duel at the mouth of Short creek, and as a result one was killed and the other lost an arm. She finally married an Indian trader from Detroit.

---

[36] This story is confirmed by grandsons of the early settlers near Rush run.

Jacob Holmes,[37] an Indian spy, was very early in this county, but until the past summer (1897), very little was known of him. However, in August of this year, E. G. McFeeley, an old resident of Steubenville, while looking through the papers of an uncle, E. H. McFeeley, whose pen kept alive much of the history of Steubenville, found a sheet of foolscap paper filled out with the following:

"At this distant period, when Indian traditions are listened to with the interest that we lend to the events of a dark age, it is not easy to convey a very vivid image of the dangers and privations that our ancestors encountered in preparing the land we enjoy, for its present state of security and abundance. Notwithstanding there are so many striking and deeply interesting events in the early history of this state, permit me to draw your attention for a moment to an adventure which happened with me in the summer of 1838:

"It was about the middle of July, a calm and somewhat sultry day; I clambered up the sinuous path to the summit of 'McDowell hill' and seated my wearied frame under the spreading shade of a sugar maple. While reclining in a listless attitude I was aroused by the quick report of a rifle, and a slight chuckling laugh; on looking up I recognized my old friend S B. —— approach and pick up a sparrow-hawk which had fallen headless at my feet. Holding the bird by its talons he exclaimed: 'As well aimed, Hawkeye, as when you fought them 'tarnal Indians, on yonder hill!' Immediately an aged but erect man advanced to the foot of the tree, leaning his gun against its trunk and wiping the perspiration from his weather beaten brow, he advanced a pace and was introduced to me as Jacob Holmes, the Indian spy. Having heard some of the incidents of the pioneers of the country, I expressed a desire to become acquainted with the events of his early life. Mr. Holmes informed me that our mutual friend, Mr. B., had made him acquainted with my wish and he had prepared himself to gratify it. Seating ourselves on the green sward he commenced by saying:

---

[37] See account of first Methodist church building in Ohio on page 256.

"'I was born in 1768 in Berkeley county, Virginia. In 1775 my father moved over the mountains and took up his abode in the wilderness, one mile from where the town of Washington, Pa., now stands. The year 1776 emanated one of the greatest state papers ever produced by civilized men, and remains as the great American Text-Book. The result of that declaration momentarily suspended the border warfare, but in the short space of two years, the Indians again commenced their depredations; urged on by British Canadian influence, the warfare bore the impress of extermination. We built forts and block-houses for the refuge and protection of our families. For seven long years we kept up the defensive warfare; during this time were the simultaneous attacks on Fort Wheeling by three hundred Indians, and on Fort Rice, by two hundred. There were but two men, too, in the block-house at that time, to fight the Indians and defend the women and children. For two days and nights the assault was continued with savage perseverance without success; our men, like the Spartans at Thermopylæ, stood firm as Trajan's pillar and saved their wives and children.

"'In the year 1784 my father moved on the frontier of Virginia, on the Ohio, on Buffalo creek. This year we had no disturbance from the Indians, but the following year, in June, the smothered volcano again broke forth on a settlement about twelve miles of Buffalo. I was then in my seventeenth year and for the first time shouldered my rifle in defense of our helpless families. What few could hastily be collected repaired to the settlement. This was the first scene of Indian cruelty my eyes ever beheld.

The names of those murdered were George McCoy and wife, David Pursley, John Tetton and a boy taken prisoner.

"'In the year 1786 six of our neighbors went out to dig ginseng, for the support of their families. The 'look-out' of the Indians marked their unguarded situation and took their measures accordingly. The whites lulled in security, quietly searched for the nutritious herb on a rich plat of rolling ground. The plant was found in abundance. While all were eager to secure the spoil, the bullets from a platoon of Indians killed four on the spot. The names of those found at that time were John Huff, David Cox and Dan. McIntire. The other, Thos. Swearengen, was not found, that is his bones, for some years after. The three found were buried in one pit grave. I assisted to dig the pit with handspikes, covered them with their blankets and left them to moulder in the wilderness.

"'In the year 1788 I enlisted for an eight months' tour; crossed the Ohio river; built block-houses in the wilderness. One of them Mingo Station. In the vicinity of this station we encountered many hardships. In 1789 I again enlisted for eight months. As Ohio Rangers we served our country faithfully until some time in July we were discharged, cut out of our wages, lost our summer's work and got home on Saturday. Sunday morning Capt. Chas. Bilderback and wife, rode out of Mingo Station, west of the Ohio. On rising the curtain of Mingo hill a band of fierce barbarians rushed from their concealment, seized the bridles of their horses. The horse of Bilderback was turned short off to the left over a precipitous ground.'"

[Here the manuscript ends, and as the page is not filled out, it was perhaps never finished.][38]

Lewis Wetzel, one of the most noted of the Indian scouts, a German, as early as 1783-6 lived at Mingo, his hunting expeditions often starting from this point. In fact so many of the most thrilling incidents in his remarkable career were so closely associated with Jefferson county, that if it were not for the fact that the stories have so often been told, it would be proper to devote a chapter of these sketches to his achievements as a hunter and scout, but his biography has been so thoroughly preserved in abiding print that it is deemed unnecessary to repeat the story of his prowess.

---

[38] The fate of Bilderback is noted on page 148.

After Harmar erected a fort at the mouth of the Muskingum, Wetzel was employed as a scout. It was while thus engaged this brave frontiersman met with trouble that changed the current of his career. Among the Indians who visited Gen. Harmar at the fort was one called George Washington. He was a celebrated savage and possessed much influence with his tribe. While on one of his scouting expeditions Wetzel met and killed this Indian. This was after Gen. Harmar had issued his proclamation to the effect that a cessation of arms had been agreed to by the Indians and whites until arrangements could be made for a treaty of peace. Wetzel, like all the frontiersmen, had not the least confidence in an Indian, and of course sneered at the proposed treaty of peace as only another to be broken as soon as the savages were given opportunity to go upon the war path well manned and equipped. The frontiersmen also probably knew that the Indians were still being directed by the British at Detroit, and that it was only a question of time when they would break out again in all their terrible fury, to kill and burn—to make impossible peaceful settlements west of the Ohio, the idea of the British being to prevent settlements in the Ohio country, thus causing it to be so undesirable that the United States Government would finally make the treaty line the Ohio river; and that there was much basis for this belief developed in a very short time. Nevertheless Wetzel was arrested by Gen. Harmar, charged with murder. Wetzel's cunning escape and final return to Mingo bottom is one of the most interesting chapters in frontier sketches. Exasperated at Wetzel's escape, Gen. Harmar offered a large reward for his capture. He also sent a file of men under command of Capt. Kingsbury to apprehend the outlaw, as he called the brave scout whose daring and skill, and the daring and skill of those like him, made possible the settlement of the whites in Ohio. The soldiers marched to Mingo, where a shooting match was in progress. An eye witness thus narrates this incident: "A company of men could as easily have drawn Beelzebub out of the bottomless pit, as to take Lewis Wetzel, by force, from the Mingo bottom settlement. As soon as the object of Capt. Kingsbury's visit was known it was determined to ambush the captain's barge, and kill him and his company. Happily Major McMahan was present to prevent this catastrophe, who prevailed on Wetzel and his friends to suspend attack until he should pay Capt. Kingsbury a visit; perhaps he could induce him to return without making the proposed arrest. With reluctance they agreed to suspend the attack until McMahan should return. The resentment of Wetzel and his friends was burning with fury. 'A pretty affair, this,' said they, 'to hang a man for killing an Indian when the Indians are killing our people every day.' Major McMahan informed Kingsbury of the disposition of the people in the Mingo settlement, and assured him that if he persisted in the attempt to seize Wetzel, he would have all the settlers in the country upon him; that nothing could save him and his command from massacre but a speedy return. The captain took the advice, and Wetzel now considered the affair adjusted." Again Gen. Harmar issued a proclamation from Fort Washington, offering a reward for the delivery of Wetzel to the fort, dead or alive. Wetzel was finally retaken near the Falls of Ohio by Lieutenant Lawler and delivered to Gen. Harmar at Fort Washington, but the protests of the people all along the river from Mingo to the falls were so strong and persistent that the general was compelled, although reluctantly, to release him. Wetzel afterwards went to New Orleans, where he was arrested and imprisoned for passing a counterfeit bill, palmed off on him by a trader who had bought his pelts. He lay in prison for a long time, or until released by the intercession of friends in the neighborhood of the Mingo bottom settlement. The late David McIntyre, of Belmont county, met him at Natchez in April, 1808. He died in Texas and was buried near Austin.

John Wetzel's career was also associated with Jefferson county, and it was the depredations committed by the Indians near where Steubenville now stands, after their victory over St. Clair, that occasioned the John Wetzel expedition against the Indians in the spring of 1792. The Indians had made many raids on the border settlers along the Ohio, especially between the site of Steubenville and Wheeling, sometimes killing or capturing whole families, at other times stealing horses and whatever else they could carry away. After one of these forays the settlers determined to follow the savages. The party organized, with Wetzel as captain. The company consisted of William McCullough, John Hough, Joseph Hedges, Thomas Biggs, Kinsie Dickerson and Wm. Linn, all being experienced scouts. From the site of Steubenville they marched up the river to Yellow creek and then followed the old trail from Fort McIntosh (Beaver) to Fort Laurens, in the Tuscarawas valley. At the first Indian town, which was on Mohican creek, they found their horses. For better safety they concluded to return by a different route, which brought them to a point on Wills creek, near the site of Cambridge. Here they camped for a night, and while all were asleep excepting a guard, the party was attacked by the Indians. A party of savages bounded into the camp, yelling and brandishing their tomahawks like the demons they were. The scouts fled instantly, leaving all their equipments in the camp. In the fight that ensued Biggs, Hedges and Linn were killed, but Wetzel and the others escaped to Wheeling. The Indians making the attack were some of the old Moravian converts who had reverted to heathenism, and who were on the warpath to revenge the massacre at Gnadenhutten ten years before.

John McDonald, too, was among the settlers of Mingo bottom, before the territory northwest of the Ohio was ready for a home of peace, or rather it should be said that his father, John McDonald, was; and his uncle Thomas McDonald, after whom Thomas, Jr., was named, also settled at Mingo. Just previous to 1780 the McDonalds moved from Northumberland county, Pa., crossing the mountains and settled on the Mingo bottoms. John was about five years of age, and in the midst of danger and privation, he began the education that fitted him for the responsibilities that he so nobly bore in future years.

The frequent incursions of the savages upon the homes of the whites taught the youth to court danger. The necessities of the table developed a skill with the rifle that was only equalled by the savage dweller in the wilderness. The labor required to hew out homes in the heavy forests, developed the muscles of the boy into their greatest strength in manhood. By dint of industry and never failing perseverance, John McDonald added to his qualifications the rudiments of an English education. "Thus," says his biographer and friend, J. B. F. Morgan, of Ross county, "the boy, who was destined to become an expert backwoodsman, a successful hunter, a brave Indian fighter, a surveyor, a distinguished soldier, an honored legislator and an author of great worth, was reared." The McDonalds were among those who were dispossessed of the land upon which they had settled on the west bank of the Ohio, and who were living there in 1785, by order of the Government. Some returned and reconstructed their cabins, only to see them again burned the next year by order of the Government in whose defense they had fought, and thought at least they were entitled to as much ground as would make a corn patch. There is no record to show whether the McDonalds returned; but Mr. Morgan says John removed to Kentucky about the year 1790, and was ever after a prominent figure in the affairs of the west: [39]Simon Kenton, the celebrated frontiersman, was a resident of the community in which the McDonalds located. Though twenty years older than McDonald, a strong attachment was soon developed between the two. It was with the daring Kenton that McDonald made his first excursion in quest of Indian blood. A party of hunters went out on the waters of Bracken in search of game, where they were attacked by a body of savages. Two of the hunters were killed. Word of the depredations reached Washington, Ky., about midnight and Kenton began at once to make preparations to avenge the death of the hunters. Young McDonald was solicited to join the company, but his father forbade him joining the excursion. His eagerness for the fray was so intense that he disregarded his father's will and secretly took a rifle from the cabin and joined in the chase. The trail of the savages was soon found and a rapid march made in the direction of the Ohio river, over which they had made a safe retreat. It is said that when the mutilated bodies of the hunters were found by the company, the ardor of the youthful warrior was somewhat cooled, but not daunted. After this, McDonald was constantly employed in hunting, scouting and surveying. The latter occupation was the most dangerous calling in which frontiersmen were engaged.

---

[39] Sketch by Dr. Morgan read before the Ross County Historical Society.

McDonald accompanied many surveying parties, and in his Sketches is given an account of the composition of a surveying party, from which an extract is of interest: "The surveyor-in-chief, usually employed three assistant surveyors. To each surveyor were attached six men, which made a mess of seven. Every man had his prescribed duties to perform. Their operations were conducted as follows: In front went the hunter, who kept in advance of the surveyor two or three hundred yards, looking for game, and prepared to give notice should any danger from Indians threaten them. Then followed, after the surveyor, the two chainmen, marker and pack-horse-men with the baggage, who always kept near each other to be prepared for defense in case of an attack. Lastly, two or three hundred yards in the rear, came a man called the spy, whose duty it was to keep on the back trail and look out, lest the party in advance might be pursued and attacked by surprise. Each man, the surveyor not excepted, carried his rifle, his blanket and other articles that he might stand in need of. On the pack-horse was carried the cooking utensils and such provisions as could be conveniently taken. Nothing like bread was thought of. Some salt was taken to be used sparingly. For subsistence they depended alone on the game which the woods afforded, procured by their unerring rifles."

The law regulated the surveyor's fees. He was paid three shillings (about 75c.) per thousand acres; and each assistant secured three shillings a day. Just think of it. Men not only placing their lives in peril every day that they were in the country of the savages, but every hour; yes, every moment had to be guarded with the strictest precision; their food consisting alone of what the forests afforded. No tent to shelter them from the pelting of the rains or protect them from the blasts of the merciless winds; no ambulance to carry the wounded; no hospital to receive the sick, no surgeon to stop the ebbing tide. All this done for the paltry sum of seventy-five cents a day! But the adventure, the daring, the captivity, the dying at the stake of noble men, seemed to be necessary for the development of the wilderness, with its savage wigwams, into a settlement covered with beautiful homes occupied by the most intelligent people the world has ever known.

The following story of one of his narrow escapes was narrated to Dr. Morgan by McDonald years after the event. It is also related by Dr. J. B. Finley[40] in his autobiography: Early in November, in the year 1794, Lucas Sullivant, a land speculator and surveyor from Virginia, collected a company of twenty-one men to go on a surveying tour in the Scioto country; notwithstanding the Indians had been severely beaten by Gen. Wayne a few months previously, yet the country was far from being in a state of peace. Attached to this company were three surveyors—John and Nathan Beasley and Sullivant, who was the chief. Col. McDonald was connected with this company. Every man carried his own baggage and arms, which consisted of a rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife. Having taken Todd's trace, they pursued their journey until they came to Paint Creek at the old crossing; from thence they proceeded to old Chillicothe (now Frankfort), and thence on to Deer Creek where they camped at the mouth of Hay Run. This is a point about two miles southeast of Clarksburg, and about six hundred yards north of Brown's Chapel, in Deerfield township. In the morning Sullivant, McDonald, Calvin and Murray were selected as hunters for the day. They started down toward the mouth of the creek, intending to take its meanderings back to camp. They had not proceeded more than a hundred rods, when a flock of turkeys came flying toward them and lighted on the trees about them. McDonald and Murray were on the bank of the creek by a pile of drift wood. Murray, having no thought that the turkeys might have been frightened by Indians, slipped up to a tree and shot a turkey. He then stepped back under cover from the turkeys and McDonald took the position left by his companion. He was taking aim, when the sharp crack of a rifle greeted his ear. He whirled on his heel in time to see his companion fall to rise partment he has never been excelled — his editorials are well judged and direct, with the point and brevity of Swift and more than the correctness of Addison. In the politics of the country his influence was very great. While he was in the height of his practice at the Bar the Ohio Legislature having passed a law levying a very heavy tax on the branch Bank of the U. S. located at Chillicothe, the bank refused to pay the tax, and a commissioner was appointed to levy and collect it.[108] He entered the bank and seized its assets to the required amount, and the Bank brought Trespass, for breaking and entering its close, and carrying off its goods. Mr. Clay appeared for the Bank, Mr. Hammond for the State. Mr. Clay offered his evidence to prove title and possession of the close. Mr. Hammond denied its admissibility and it was ruled out by the Court. Mr. Clay took snuff with both hands, seemed quite bewildered and at the mercy of his opponent. After a few minutes Mr. Hammond rose, said the object of his client was, not to gain a technical triumph, but to try the right, which could not be done in the present form of pleading, he would therefore agree to an amendment which should raise the actual question — let a verdict pass by consent & take the case on Bill of exceptions to the S. C. of the U. S. This was of course agreed to. The case had attracted much attention — and the young members of the Bar joined in the triumph and felt proud of the victory and magnanimity of our Ohio Lawyer.

---

[40] McDonald was as modest as brave and did not refer to his achievements in his Sketches.

Doddridge was equal to Hammond as a lawyer, and his superior as an orator. The correctness and brevity of his statements in law papers were admirable. I once had occasion to make a brief in a case in which I was employed with him and found to my admiration that I could not at all abridge the stating part of the answer which he had drawn up for our client. He could look through a case at a glance. On one occasion he appeared in a case of Mr. Hammond and asked a continuance because Mr. H. was unable to attend. Mr. Brush[109] on the other side objected, and said his client absolutely required him to try the cause at that term. On this Mr. Doddridge told the clerk to give him the papers — he untied them and shuffled them over in his fat clumsy hands. The action was Ejectment — having looked at the papers four or five minutes he said the jury might be sworn. Brush offered his first item of evidence, the deed under which the Plaintiff claimed. It was not properly acknowledged, and was rejected. Brush thereupon said he must submit to a non suit — but Doddridge said no — you may withdraw a juror and continue the cause — this generous offer was of course accepted and we all joined in lauding the tact and promptitude and professional liberality of Mr. Doddridge. Unfortunately he was intemperate or we should have recognized him as the monarch of the profession. On this occasion, the evidently favorable impression he had made elated him — he went to our hotel — indulged in large potations, and kept his room for three or four days. Leonard,[110] a highly intellectual and learned lawyer, but subject to the same frailty, was with him. He told me that about the close of the second day, they were both in bed, neither able to rise, he raised himself on his elbow and groaned aloud "My God how my head does ache" to which the experienced old Philosopher replied "Let it ache, Mr. Leonard, it will ache." He used to come round by Lancaster, that I might go with him to Columbus to the Circuit Court and he would return with me the same way. Generally he was sober, and delightful company, though he would sometimes, as I thought, recount to me adventures entirely fictitious. One morning we left Columbus in a post coach together for Lancaster — he was in a fine humor, full of chat, and interesting narrative, but he evidently had drunk too much and after a while became dull and stupid. We stopped at Lithopolis to dine, and I directed the driver to be at the door with the coach as soon as dinner was over. A bottle of whiskey was set out by his order and he took a draft before dinner. I took the bottle, put it in the bar, locked the door and put the key in my pocket. Before getting into the coach he asked again for the bottle but it was not to be found — the bar door was locked and the key mislaid — after some commotion the bar-keeper came with a sledge hammer, broke the door, brought out the bottle and my excellent old friend indemnified himself fully for the temporary privation. When we reached Lancaster he was very drunk. I left him at Mr. Noble's[111] hotel with directions to send for Doc'r White, In 1794 McDonald and his brother Thomas joined Gen. Wayne's army, as rangers or spies. The company of rangers consisted of seventy-two men, who were under the command of Capt. Ephraim Kibby. It was the duty of this company to traverse the Indian country in every direction in advance of the main army. The most daring and intrepid men were selected for this company. Upon their bravery and skill as Indian warriors depended the success of Gen. Wayne's army. Col. McDonald proved to be a man of unquestionable bravery and skill, and had a combination of qualities that made him a valuable member of Gen. Wayne's advance guard.

He served in the War of 1812 as Quartermaster; in 1813 he was made a Captain in the regular army; in 1814 he commanded a regiment at Detroit, and in 1817 he was elected to the State Senate. In 1834, when he was near 60 years of age, he began writing reminiscences of the first settlements along the Ohio and its tributaries; also the book he called McDonald's Sketches. This book consisted of biographical sketches of Gen. Duncan McArthur, Gen. Nathaniel Massie, Captain William Wells and Gen. Simon Kenton. To this work he devoted much time. As he was not an educated man this labor was great. No task of this kind had ever been undertaken by any frontiersman. He was the only pioneer of the Virginia Military District who attempted to record, in historical form, the deeds of his comrades on the frontier. In giving a history of the four individuals above mentioned he painted a magnificent pen picture of the settlements of the western wilderness.

[41] When Henry Howe wrote the history of Ohio he borrowed the bulk of McDonald's manuscript, with the privilege of selecting such as might be of value to him, with the promise that all should be returned. Instead of returning it, as he promised, all was lost. In this manuscript was lost much valuable history that to-day would have been greatly appreciated by the present generation. His writings have been sought by many historians. If it had not been for the writings of Col. McDonald the names of such men as Gen. Nathaniel Massie and others would have been

---

[41] Dr. Morgan.

consigned to oblivion. Much of his writings has been appropriated by the page (by would-be authors) without a quotation mark.

It has been said by critics that McDonald's Sketches were lacking in literary style. With the basis he had for the stories he narrated there was no need for the manifestation of imagination; there was no call for literary culture. He told his story in a plain, straightforward way so that he that runneth may read and understand. The compiler has before him a copy of McDonald's Sketches, and he would place it among the classics and the name of John McDonald in the pantheon where forever abides the record of achievements of the brave.

Joseph Ross was another noted Indian scout of Jefferson county during the border warfare, of whose early settlement at Mingo mention is made elsewhere, he being the father of the first white child born in Jefferson county. Ross was a Scotch-Irishman, born in New York state about the year 1730, and the greater part of his life was spent on the frontier. Like most of the Indian scouts he was a man of powerful frame, being almost six and a half feet in height and weighing three hundred pounds. In youth he was captured by the Indians and brought to one of their towns in the Ohio country. He was well treated by the savages, who made him a chief on account of his gigantic size. Under the pretext of desiring to join the French at Fort Du Quesne, he left the Indians and returned to his home in New York, where he joined the troops setting out against Fort Edward. He was captured in the attack on the fort and the Indians heaped many cruelties upon him, and they finally determined to burn him at the stake. However, he escaped, according to the early accounts of his life, by the assistance of a French officer. He now became an Indian hunter of the type of Maxwell, the Wetzels, Myers, et al. Possessed of intimate knowledge of the Indians and their mode of warfare, he was of great aid to the frontiersmen. His nature could not brook restraint or control, and he was continually at variance with the commanders of posts along the frontier. While on a trip to Kentucky, where he hunted with Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, he married his third white wife. Returning to Fort Henry, he took a brave and active part in the defense in September of 1782. As soon as the Indians abandoned the siege Ross and Lewis Wetzel started on their trail intent on killing stragglers. It is related that the two became separated and Ross seeing four Indians starting to swim across the river, killed two of them with his rifle before they could return to shore, and grappled with, and killed the other two who got to shore, after a terrible struggle, without weapons aside from his hands. He settled on what is known as the Wells farm on Mingo bottom. (See Early Settlers and Their Ejectment by the Government.) Just before Ross left to join Gen. St. Clair's command in 1791, he had a personal encounter with Major Hamtramck, commandant at Fort Steuben, and gave the Major a terrible beating. It would have fared badly with him had he not immediately left to war with his old enemies. He was also a captain of scouts in Wayne's victorious army; returning to Mingo he acquiesced in the demands of the government and purchased the land on which he had previously squatted. He became a warm friend of Bezaleel Wells and James Ross the founders of Steubenville. He met his death by a falling tree during a storm in 1806, while returning home from a visit to Mr. Wells, who then lived in his mansion on the river front.[42]

A few years ago the late Capt. W. M. Farrar, an active member of the Ohio Historical and Archæological Society, and Dr. A. M. Reid, the latter of Steubenville, marked the point on the Ohio river at which occurred the fight between Adam Poe and the big Indian. The place designated by their mark is at the mouth of Tomlinson's run, which empties into the Ohio from the Virginia side about three miles above the head of Brown's island. A short distance from the shore is a small island, and it was between the island and the shore the fight took place. The land at this point is owned by Rev. Mr. Cowl, of the Methodist Protestant church. Most of the published accounts of this justly celebrated fight are incorrect, and J. A. Caldwell, while gathering data for his history of Belmont and Jefferson counties, devoted much effort to obtain a true account, which he obtained from old residents then living in the neighborhood, and even from the descendants of the Poes, who had heard the story from the lips of the actors themselves. A grandson of Adam Poe is now (January, 1898) in Ravenna, and has in his possession a tomahawk used in the border warfare by his illustrious ancestor. The Poes were Scotch-Irish and were born in Maryland, coming to the northwestern part of Virginia bordering on the Ohio before the Zanes settled at the mouth of Wheeling creek. The Poe settlement soon increased to twelve families. Adam was married in 1778, and Andrew two years afterwards. Both men were trained frontiersmen and were engaged in most of the expeditions that required spirit a daring and fortitude to bear the perils of the woods. In every sense, says Caldwell, they were shrewd, active and courageous, and having fixed their abode on the frontier of civilization, determined to contest inch by inch with the savage their right to the soil and privilege to live. In appearance they were tall, muscular and erect, with features denoting great force of character. The date of the conflict which made famous these two brave men is 1781. In the fall of that year, following the massacre of the Lochry expedition at the mouth of the Big Miami, the settlements in this region were frequently disturbed by incursions of the Indians. In August the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, with over three hundred warriors assembled at the Moravian town, the object being to take the missionaries and their converts to Detroit to try them for spies. After remaining at Gnadenhutten for a month the head of the warriors, Half-King, sent out a party of six Wyandots to attack the white settlers on the Ohio, among the six being three sons of the Half-King. They broke into the cabin of William Jackson, an old man, in the Poe settlement, and he being alone, they took him prisoner. Jackson's son, who was about seventeen years of age, on returning to the cabin, saw the Indians with his father, in the yard, and he fled to Harman's fort. The Indians attempted several other houses and the alarm became general. Preparations were made to follow the Indians with a view of rescuing Jackson, and at the first dawn of day, says Caldwell, in his account, twelve of the settlers, mounted on horseback, were in pursuit. They followed the trail at the greatest possible speed until they reached the top of the river hill, a distance of about twelve miles. Here they left their horses and traveled on foot, the hill being very precipitous. When they reached the bottom of the hill the trail turned down the river, and in crossing the little stream, Tomlinson's run, Andrew observed that where the Indians had stepped into the water it was still riley, and cautioned the men to keep quiet; that the Indians were very near and would hear them and kill the prisoner, Jackson. After fruitless efforts to quiet the men he left the company, turning off square to the right, went to the bank of the river, and looking down he saw, about twelve feet below him, two Indians stooping with their guns in their hands, looking down the river in the direction of the noise. He observed that one of the Indians was a very large man. It occurred to him that he would shoot the larger and take the other a prisoner. He squatted in the weeds, and crept up to the brow of the bank, put his gun through the weeds and took aim, but his gun missed fire. When the gun snapped both Indians yelled, "Woh! woh!" Poe immediately drew his head back and the Indians did not see him. By this time the other settlers had overtaken the other five Indians with Jackson, who were about one hundred yards down the river, and had begun to fire, which drew the attention of the two under the eye of Andrew, who again drew aim, his gun missing fire the second time. He then dropped the rifle and sprang instantly upon them. On springing about at the snap of the gun, the two Indians were brought side by side, but did not have time to fire at Poe before he was upon them. He threw his weight upon the big Indian, catching each of them about the neck, and threw them both. The big Indian fell on his back, Andrew following with his left arm around his neck. The little Indian fell behind Andrew, whose right arm was around the Indian's neck. Their guns both fell. One of them lay within reach of Andrew, who observed that it was cocked. The Indians had a raft fastened to the shore close by where they were standing, the river being very high. The tomahawk and bullet pouch were on the raft. Andrew's knife was in the scabbard attached to his shot pouch, which was pressed between them. He got a slight hold of the handle and was trying to draw it to dispatch the big Indian who, observing it, caught his hand, and spoke in his own tongue very vehemently to the other who was struggling very hard to get loose. Andrew made several efforts to get his knife, but in vain. At last he jerked with all his might. The big Indian instantly let go and Andrew, not having a good hold of the handle, and the knife coming out unexpectedly easy in consequence of the big Indian loosing his grasp, it flew out of Andrew's hand and the little Indian drew his head from under his arm, his grasp being slackened in the act of drawing his knife. The big Indian instantly threw his long arm around Andrew's body and hugged him like a bear, while the little Indian sprang to the raft, which was about six feet off, and brought a tomahawk with which he struck at Andrew's head, who was still lying on his side on the big Indian, he holding him fast. Andrew threw up his foot as the stroke came and hit the Indian on the wrist with the toe of his shoe and the tomahawk flew into the river. The big Indian yelled at the little Indian furiously, who sprang to the raft and got the other tomahawk, and after making several motions struck at Andrew's head, who threw up his right arm and received the blow on his wrist, which broke one bone of his wrist and the chords of three of his fingers. Andrew immediately threw his hand over his head when he was struck, and the tomahawk catching in the sinews of his arm, drew it out of the Indian's hand and it flew over his head. After the stroke was given the big Indian let go his hold and Andrew got upon his feet. As he rose he seized the gun which lay by his head, with his left hand, and it being already cocked, he shot the smaller Indian through the body; but scarcely had he done so when the big Indian arose and placing one hand on his collar and the other on his hip, threw Andrew into the river. Andrew threw his hand back and caught the Indian by his buckskin breech clout and carried him into the river also. The water being deep they both went under. Then a desperate effort was made by each to drown the other; sometimes one was under the water, sometimes the other and sometimes both. In the struggle they were carried about thirty yards out into the river. Poe at length seized the tuft of hair on the scalp of the

---

[42] History Upper Ohio Valley.

Indian by which he held his head under water until he thought him drowned. But he himself was sinking; not being able to do much with his disabled right hand, he threw it on the back of the Indian's neck, who was under water, and swam with his left arm to recruit himself a little. The Indian was not dead as supposed and got from under Andrew's arm and swam to shore with all his speed, Poe following him as fast as he could, but he could not catch him. As soon as the Indian got out of the water he picked up a gun, and in his effort to cock it, disabled the lock. He then threw it down and picked up the empty gun, with which Andrew had shot the other Indian and went to the raft for the shot pouch and powder horn and commenced loading. In the meantime, as soon as the Indian reached the spot where both guns and tomahawk lay, Andrew swam back into the river and called for his brother, Adam, who was with the other party. Adam came running on the bank where Andrew had jumped off, and began to load his gun. Andrew continued swimming away from them with nothing but his face out of the water, still calling for Adam to load quickly. The race between the two in loading was about equal, but the Indian drew his ramrod too hastily and it slipped out of his hands and fell a little distance from him. He caught it up and rammed down his bullet. The little delay gave Poe the advantage, so that just as the Indian raised his gun to shoot Andrew, Adam's ball entered the breast of the savage and he fell forward on his face upon the very margin of the river. Adam, now alarmed for his brother, who was scarcely able to swim, jumped into the river to assist him to shore, but Andrew, thinking more of the honor of securing the big Indian's scalp as a trophv than his own safety, called upon Adam to leave him alone and scalp the big Indian. In the meantime the savage had succeeded in reaching the deep water before he expired and his body was borne off by the waves without being stripped of its scalp. An unfortunate occurrence took place during this conflict. Just as Adam arrived at the top of the bank for the relief of his brother, the others of his party, hearing the hallooing of Andrew, came running up the bank and seeing him in the river mistook him for a wounded Indian, and three of them fired at him, one of them wounding him dangerously. The ball entered his right shoulder at the juncture with his neck, passing through his body, coming out at his left side. During the contest between Andrew Poe and the two Indians the rest of the party followed the Indian trail to the river, where the other Indians were with the prisoner, Jackson. They had a large raft and were preparing to cross the river. Jackson seeing the men coming as soon as the Indians did, ran to them. One of the Indians struck him on the back with a tomahawk, making a slight wound. None of the Indians were captured, but being badly wounded only one of them got across the river and he was shot through the hand. One of the settlers named Cherry, was shot through the lungs and died in about an hour. Andrew Poe was straight and tall, being six feet two inches in height, with large bones covered with well-developed sinews and muscles and weighed over two hundred pounds. He had broad shoulders, slightly rounded, and a deep, full chest, surmounted by a large and well-balanced head, the physique indicating great strength and extraordinary power of endurance. In 1795 he built a large two story hewn log house near Hookstown, Pennsylvania. The upper story was left without windows and was meant for a fort in case of an attack by the Indians. Andrew Poe was a member of the Presbyterian church at Millcreek, Beaver county, Pennsylvania, during all, or the most part of the pastorate of Rev. George Scott, which extended over forty years.

The scene of the encounter of the two Johnson boys, so familiar to the readers of frontier history, is near the town of Warrenton, at the mouth of Short creek, and near the site of Carpenter's fort, being on section 9, Wells township. There have been many accounts written of this event in the history of Jefferson county, in which there seems to be very little difference except as to the language employed in the description. While Withers gives the date as 1793 and Doddridge the same, Henry Johnson, one of the actors, in after years gave the date as October, 1788. The names of the boys were John and Henry, the latter being eleven years of age at the time. They had been in the forest cracking nuts when captured by two Indians, and after a circuitous route the Indians halted for the night. The elder, in order to keep the Indians from killing them, pretended that they were pleased to be taken, as they had been treated illy at home and desired to get away from their people. During the evening and before they lay down to sleep, John guardedly informed his brother of a plan he had arranged in his mind for escape. After the Indians had tied the boys and had gone to sleep, John loosened his hands and having also released his brother, they resolved to kill their captors. John took a position with a gun one of the Indians had by his side, and Henry was given a tomahawk. At a given signal, one discharged the rifle and the other almost severed the head of the other Indian with the tomahawk. The one struck with the tomahawk attempted to rise but was immediately dispatched by the brave boy. Coming near Fort Carpenter early in the morning, they found the settlers preparing to go on an expedition of rescue. The story that they had killed the two Indians, one of whom was a chief, was not believed by the settlers about the fort, but to convince them John accompanied the men to the scene of the encounter, where they found the body of the Indian killed by John with the tomahawk, but the other had been only wounded and had crawled away. His body was found afterwards. Doddridge says that after the Wayne victory, a friend of the Indians killed by the Johnson boys, asked what had become of the boys. When told that they still lived with their parents on Short creek, the Indian replied, "You have not done right; you should have made kings of those boys." The land on which the two Indians were killed was donated to the Johnson boys by the Government for this service. This land was purchased from the Johnson boys by Capt. Kirkwood, and has been since in the possession of the Howard, Medill and Kirk families.

The story of the capture of the Castleman girls by the Indians from a point near the site of Toronto, in 1791, is familiar to all readers. The two girls, Mary and Margaret, came from the Virginia side of the river where their father had settled, to a sugar camp at the mouth of Croxton's run, accompanied by their uncle, a Mr. Martin. While engaged in boiling sap, they were surprised by Indians who shot Martin, and capturing Mary ran in a western direction. Margaret had hidden in a hollow sycamore tree, but when she saw that her sister was being carried away, started to follow. A young Indian ran back, picked her up and claimed her as his own. The girls were taken to Sandusky, where they were kept as prisoners. Margaret was sold to a French trader and Mary married a half-breed Indian, who treated her with savage cruelty. On one occasion, when he threw his knife at her with murderous intent, she ran off, returning to her friends on the Ohio. She afterwards married a Wells. Wells dying, she made her home with James Roach at Limaville. The father of the girls, after the Wayne treaty, found Margaret at Detroit and induced her to return to the Ohio valley, where she married Jacob Wright, who settled in the northern part of the county. Mary was one hundred and three years of age at her death. A grand-niece, Mrs. Devore, is now living at Mingo.

On a farm near Brilliant are the graves of a pioneer named Riley and his two sons and a daughter, murdered by the Indians in 1784. Mr. Riley had located on land west of Mingo, where he built a cabin and was cultivating the ground. One day, while Riley and his two sons were at work in a cornfield, the Indians surprised and killed the father and one son, the other having escaped. At the cabin they found the mother and two daughters. Mrs. Riley was tied to a grape vine and the two girls captured, one of whom was tomahawked and the other carried to Detroit, where she was sold to a French trader. The remains of the three murdered were found by the other settlers and were buried at the scene of the death of the father. The graves have been preserved by the estate of the late Smiley Johnson, which owns the land, as Mr. Johnson kept them green for more than half a century, at the beginning of which time he bought the farm. He always said this little act was conducive to a spirit of patriotism, for it kept in memory the awful sacrifices made by the pioneers who made the pathway for civilization and marked it with noble blood.

The last formidable encounter with the Indians in Jefferson county has been known in history as Buskirk's Famous Fight in August, 1793. Depredations by the Indians had so increased that the settlers resolved to make decisive defense. The year previous the wife of Capt. Lawson Buskirk had been most brutally murdered by Indians who had captured her while she was on her way to Washington county, Pa., to have weaving done. They had crossed the river from the site of Steubenville and proceeded on their marauding expedition toward the site of Wellsburg. They met Mrs. Buskirk, who was riding horseback. As she turned her horse with the purpose of galloping back to the settlement, the animal stumbled and threw her, spraining an ankle so severely that she surrendered. The Indians returned with her to a point opposite the site of Steubenville. Three men from the settlement, seeing Mrs. Buskirk's situation, followed the Indians, and then silently reached the point of crossing the river for the purpose of ambushing and awaiting the arrival of the Indians, but when they came there were so many of the savages that the settlers saw at once that they could avail nothing with their small force. They watched the Indians get their canoes ready for recrossing the river, and as the Indians were about to cross the river another party of scouts came up. The Indians retreated to the hill, and throwing Mrs. Buskirk upon what is now known as "Town Rock," killed her with a tomahawk. It was this murder that Buskirk wanted to revenge when in August of the following year, as the savages were becoming numerous in the vicinity of the Ohio river settlements, he organized a party of scouts, including David Cox, Jacob Ross, two Cuppy boys, one Abraham who was afterwards killed by an Indian near Mt. Pleasant, John Aidy, John Parker and John Carpenter. The Indians were discovered about a mile west of Mingo; they were not surprised, but immediately fired upon the party with such execution that Buskirk was killed and three of his men were wounded. The battle was hotly contested but resulted in the rout of the Indians. It was on this occasion that Jacob Ross shot and wounded an Indian and drove him into the river, mention of which is made in an account of his life. The battle was fought on a branch of Cross creek, which ever since has been called Battle run, which empties into Cross creek at the falls not far from the scene of several disastrous accidents on the Panhandle railroad..

IX.

The Pioneer Blockhouses — Many of them in Jefferson County — Fort Laurens on the Line of the Original County — Built as a Defense during the Revolutionary War — It is Besieged by the Indians and afterwards Abandoned — Hildreth's Account Quoted — Fort Steuben Built to Protect the Surveyors of the First Seven Ranges — It was Garrisoned by Major Hamstramck who Won Laurels in the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

The advance guard of the mighty army of civilization was so harassed by the savage occupants of the land that forts or blockhouses were absolutely necessary to protect the settler from the incursions of the Indians. There were many of these along the river front of Jefferson county, while Fort Laurens was on the western line of the original county, being located at what is now known as Bolivar in Tuscarawas county. Mr. D. W. Matlack, who made the map of the original lines of Jefferson county, which was used on the stationery of the Centennial committees, expresses the view that Fort Laurens undoubtedly was a factor in determining the west line of the county.

The blockhouses were square, heavy, double-storied buildings, with the upper story extending over the lower about two feet all round. They also projected slightly over the stockade, commanding all the approaches thereto, so that no lodgment could be made against the pickets of which the stockade was built, to set them on fire, or to scale them. They were also pierced with loop-holes for musketry. The roof sloped equally from each side upward, and was surmounted at the centre by a quadrangular structure called the sentry box. This box was the post of observation, affording, from its elevated position, an extensive view on all sides. It was usually occupied in times of siege or apprehended attack, by three of the best riflemen, who were also well skilled in the tactics of Indian warfare.[43] This is a description of a majority of the forts built by the pioneers who blazed the forest for the coming empire. In times of hostilities the whole settlement would seek safety in the blockhouse, and many were the awful tragedies witnessed by the defenders, whose sublime courage and devotion should ever be in memory.

---

[43] Caldwell.

Fort Laurens was the first fort erected in Ohio, and was named for the President of the Revolutionary Congress. This fort was the scene of much distress during the Revolutionary war. The site of the fortification or blockhouse was near Bolivar, and the canal passes through its earthen walls which enclosed about an acre of land and stood on the west bank of the Tuscarawas river. According to Hildreth Fort Laurens was erected in the Fall of 1778 by a detachment of one thousand men from Fort Pitt under command of Gen. MacIntosh.[44] After its completion a garrison of one hundred and fifty men was placed in charge of Col. John Gibson, while the others of the men who built it returned to Fort Pitt.

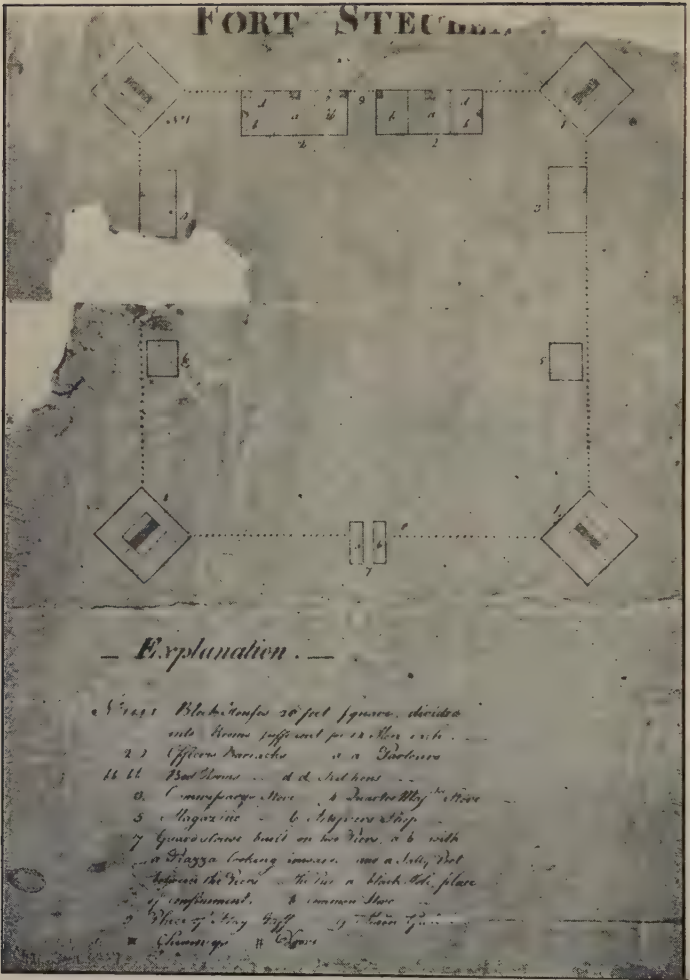
Fort Laurens was established, says Hildreth, at this early day in the Indian country, seventy miles west of Fort MacIntosh, with the expectation that it would have a salutary check on the incursions of the hostile savages, the allies of the British, into the white settlements south of the Ohio river. The usual approach to Fort MacIntosh, the nearest military station, was from the mouth of Yellow creek, and down the big Sandy, which latter stream heads with the former, and puts off into the Tuscarawas just above the fort. So unexpected and rapid were the movements of Gen. MacIntosh that the Indians were not aware of his presence in their country until the fort was completed. Early in January, 1779, the Indians mustered their warriors with such secrecy that the fort was invested before the garrison had notice of their approach. Hildreth quotes from Henry Jolly, who was an actor in this scene as well as many other frontier tragedies: "When the main army left the fort to return to Fort Pitt Capt. Clark remained behind with a small detachment of United States troops for the purpose of marching in the invalids and artificers who had tarried to finish the fort, or were too ill to march with the main body. He endeavored to take advantage of very cold weather, and had marched three or four miles when he was fired upon by a small party of Indians very close at hand. The discharge wounded two of his men slightly. Knowing as he did that his men were unfit to fight the Indians in their own fashion he ordered them to reserve their fire and to charge bayonet, which, being promptly executed, put the Indians to flight, and after pursuing a short distance, he called off his men and retreated to the fort, bringing in the wounded." In other accounts he had read of this affair, says Hildreth, ten of Capt. Clark's men were mentioned as killed. During the cold weather, while the Indians were lying about the fort, although none had been seen for a few days, a party of seventeen men went out for the purpose of carrying in firewood, which had been cut before the main army moved and had been left about forty rods from the fort. Near the bank of the river was an ancient mound, behind which lay a quantity of wood. A party had been sent out for several preceding mornings and brought in wood, supposing the Indians would not be watching the fort in such very cold weather. But on that fatal morning the Indians had concealed themselves behind the mound, and as the soldiers came round on the other side, enclosed the wood party so that not one escaped. Jolly says he was personally acquainted with every one of the men killed. Another account says that the Indians enticed the men out in search of horses, by taking off the bells and tinkling them; but as it is quite certain that there had been no horses left at the fort, it is more likely that Mr. Jolly's story is the correct one. A siege, which continued until the last of February, left the garrison very short of provisions. The Indians suspected this to be the case and were almost in a starving condition themselves. In this predicament they proposed to the garrison that if they would give them a barrel of flour and some meat they would raise the siege, concluding that if the garrison did not have this quantity they must soon surrender at discretion, and if they had, they would not part with it. The brave Col. Gibson turned out the flour and meat promptly, and told the Indians that they could spare it very well as he had plenty more. The Indians soon after raised the siege. A runner was sent to Fort MacIntosh with a statement of their distress, and requesting reinforcements and provisions immediately. The inhabitants south of the Ohio volunteered their aid, and Gen. MacIntosh headed the escort of the provisions, which reached the fort in safety, but was near being lost from the dispersion of the pack horses in the woods near the fort, from fright occasioned by a salute of joy fired by the garrison over arrival of relief. The fort was finally evacuated in August, 1779, it being found untenable at such a distance from the frontier. Jolly, who tells this story, was the last man to leave the fort. He held at that time, in the continental service, the commission of ensign.

---

[44] Col. Crawford was at the erection of Fort Laurens as well as at the erection of Fort MacIntosh at the mouth of the Beaver river.

There were at least three blockhouses in Warren township, the most important of which was known as Carpenter's Fort, erected near the mouth of Short creek, in the summer of 1781, by John Carpenter, who lived on the east side of the river, near the mouth of Buffalo creek. Carpenter was one of Washington's servants in 1753, when he made his trip of remonstrance to the French forts. He was a Virginia rifleman and was a captain in command of a garrison on the Virginia border. While on an expedition against the Indians, with his men, he came upon a burning building which the Indians were just leaving. Rushing upon the Indians, his men, after a severe conflict, overcame and killed most of them. Carpenter rushed into the burning house, and found a young woman lying on a bed, with her face covered with blood from a tomahawk wound. The young woman, whose husband had been killed, recovered, and became the wife of her deliverer. They became traders on the Ohio and settled first on Jacob's creek.

He frequently crossed to the west side of the river and in his hunting expeditions followed the Short creek valley, and being pleased with the lands, determined to be the first to settle, feeling certain that the United States would come into their possession when the war ended. He at first built a cabin and had a clearing ready for corn planting the next season. This cabin was the beginning of the fort which afterwards furnished protection to many of the settlers, and it was from this fort that the Johnson boys went out to gather nuts when captured by the Indians. After the cabin was completed, and before moving his


FORT STEUBEN
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
9
Explanation.
No. 1 1 1 1 Block Houses 20 feet square, divided into Rooms sufficient for 12 Men each.
2 2 Officers Barracks a a Parlours
b b Bed Rooms d d Kitchens
3. Commissary Store 4 Quarter Mastr Store
5 Magazine 6 Artificers Shop
7 Guard House built on two Piers, a b with a Piazza looking inward, and a Jolly Boat between the Piers the Piers a black hole place of confinement. 8 common Store
9 Place of Flag Staff 9 Main Gate
x Chimneys # Doors

FORT STEUBEN. Photo by Filson & Son.

From a Drawing made by Major Erkurius Beatty.

family from Buffalo creek, Carpenter started with two horses for Fort Pitt, for the purpose of obtaining salt. While on the way he was captured by a band of Wyandot Indians and taken to the Moravian town, where he was compelled to give up his clothing in trade for an Indian costume. He was then taken to Sandusky, where he was held a prisoner until the following spring, when he escaped and made his way to Fort Pitt. He returned to his family and immediately removed to his cabin at the mouth of Short creek. One day while at work in his corn patch, says the account published by Caldwell, he was fired on by an Indian from the adjoining woods, and severely wounded. The Indian attempted to scalp him, but was driven off by Carpenter's wife, a stout, resolute woman, who went to his assistance, and made such vigorous resistance that her husband escaped into their cabin, when the Indian fled. After Col. Williamson's expedition to the Moravian village, says the same account quoted above, John Carpenter was summoned to Fort Pitt as a witness in the investigation, and as he identified his clothing found in the possession of the Moravians, he proved a valuable witness for Williamson. Other families followed Carpenter across the river and the cabin was strengthened to the dignity of a fort.

George Carpenter, a noted Indian spy, established a fort below the mouth of Rush run in 1785.[45]

Fort Steuben was erected by the government at the time of the survey of the first seven ranges, the Indians in this region being very hostile, to protect the surveyors. This was in 1786. The fort was constructed by Capt. Hamtramck and was completed in 1787. It stood on the second river bank, what is now known as High street, the south line running to the north line of the old Miller residence on the corner of High and Adams streets, the place now being marked by a flag staff put up on the occasion of the centennial of its erection, celebrated by the German societies of the city in honor of Baron Steuben. The four corners have also been marked by iron markers by the Centennial committee. The fort was in the form of a square with blockhouses twenty-eight feet square set diagonally on brating their victory, suddenly from out the sea came hideous yells and shouts. Troops of ghosts arose from beneath the waves, with Admiral Hosier in the lead.

---

[45] J. C. McCleary.

Hosier is the spokesman. He tells how he and his men are undone by the action of the home government, and how it would have been better for him to have disobeyed and lost his life on the scaffold, rather than to meet such a dishonorable death. He closes with an appeal of vengeance for his ruin.

45. James Thomson (1700-1748) an English poet, not read a great deal any more. His first poem to attract attention was *Winter* (1725). Two years later the *Summer,* from Which Mr. Ewing quotes, appeared. Thomson in describing the region of perpetual summer, where the climatic influence is "casting down the towering hopes and all the pride of man."

46. After diligent search and inquiry on the part of the editor, neither the author nor the ballad on the Capture of Quebec were ascertained.

47. The editor has been unable to learn anything concerning the "Monody" on the death of Wolfe.

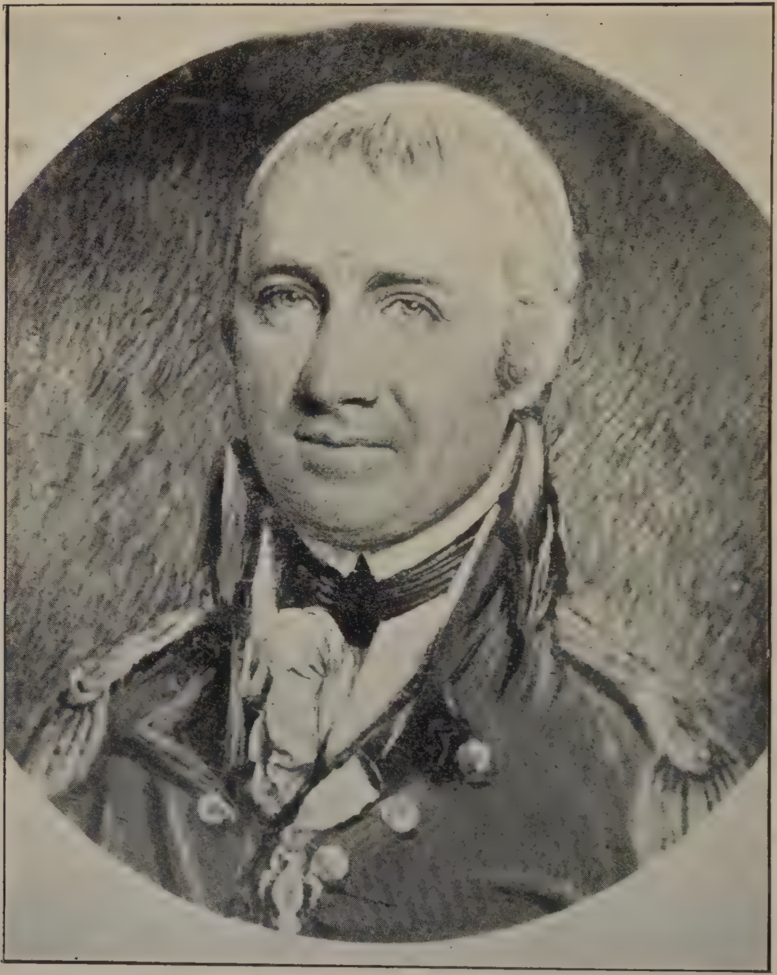
48. The assistance rendered Zeus, when the Titans made war against Olympus, by Briareus and his brothers is an instance of the first reference.

Later Briareus, Typhon and Euceladus opposed father Zeus. They were finally subdued and buried alive under Mount Etna, where they still sometimes struggle to get loose and shake the whole island with earthquakes.

49. Sakuntala, the daughter of a King and a heavenly nymph, is discovered with her friends by King Dushyanta who instantly falls in love with her and marries her. The King is suddenly recalled to his court and during his absence a Brahmin's curse falls upon Sakuntala, which causes the King to forget his love. But if she wears his ring she will recover his affection when meeting him. But her ring is lost in a pool on the way. By a miracle she is wafted to heaven. A fisherman finds the lost ring in the body of a fish and he restores it to the King, whereupon the enchantment is removed and he bewails his loss. Years elapse and the King is called to heaven where he aids the gods in their war with the giants. When he returns, he rides in India's Chariot. Alighting on a lofty mountain he sees a child playing with a lion. It is his and Sakuntala's child and through it, he and his wife are reunited. Sir William Jones and Sir Monier Williams have made excellent translations of this drama. The author is Kalidasa.

50. The editor must plead ignorance relative to this Scottish legend.

51. Capt. Benjamin Brown, one of the most prominent among the early settlers of Ames, was born October 17, 1745, at Leicester, Massachusetts. His grandfather, William Brown, came from England to



MAJ. ERKURIUS BEATTY. Photo by Filson & Son.

this territory no less than seven states claimed the part opposite to them, i. e. in the same latitude, extending to the Mississippi river. Through Hamilton's influence largely these lands were sold for this purpose and the money used to help pay off the debts of the nation and the states incurred by the Revolutionary war. An Englishman passing Steubenville in 1807 says, 'there is a land office here for the sale of public lands from which large sums of Spanish dollars are annually received and sent to the treasury at Washington.' All this, and much more of interesting matter concerning these times is found in the early files of The Pittsburg Gazette, but very little about our Fort Steuben."

The original manuscript of the diary of Maj. Beatty, while paymaster of the Western Army, is in possession of the New York Historical Society. It covers a period from May 15, 1786, to June 5, 1787. It was published in Vol. I of The Magazine of American History during the year 1877.

"Under date of August 20, 1786, Major Beatty says: 'Arrived at Mingo Bottom, three o'clock, where Capts. Hamstramck's, McCurdy's and Mercer's companies encamped on the bank of the river opposite the lower end of a small island.' This must have been about the spot where the Mingo station of the Wheeling and Lake Erie railroad is at Mingo Junction. It shows also that the troops remained a while at Mingo before coming up to Steubenville. The Major's diary continues: 'September 26, 1786, stopped at a small blockhouse to-day on the Indian shore (that is what this side of the river was then called) which Maj. Hamtramck had built for the security of his provisions, while he was out protecting the continental surveyors — saw here Capt. Mills, the commissary, and Mr. Hoop, a surveyor, who told us they expected the troops and all the surveyors in on account of an alarm they had received from the Indian towns.' From this record we can easily see that the great reason for the troops being here was to protect the surveyors against the Indians while laying out the land in this region, so that it might be sold by the government. At that time, encouraged by some of the British who still had forts at Detroit and other places which they were unwilling to surrender, though peace was declared, the Indians were disposed to take the position that the Ohio river must be 'the boundary line, beyond which no white man would be allowed to plant corn.' Hence the need of protection for the surveyors. About this time a large delegation of Indians went to Fort Pitt to protest against their lands being surveyed for the whites.

"The following year, 1787, Maj. Beatty made another trip down the Ohio to pay the troops. He writes, 'Arrived at Pittsburg on the evening of February 6, 1787, where I remained about a week waiting for an opportunity to go to Fort Harmer [at Marietta] and carry a quantity of clothing with me. Set off in a contractor's boat in company with Capt. Hart. Was obliged to remain one day at Fort McIntosh, [i. e. Beaver,] on account of high wind ahead. . . .

" 'Arrived at Fort Steuben in one day. This is a fort built since I was on the river, by Capt. Hamtramck, at Mingo Bottom on the Indian shore about forty-seven miles below McIntosh and twenty-three above Wheelin.' The Major writes the word Wheeling without the g, and though he describes the fort as at Mingo Bottom, we see by the distance given that it means the present site of Steubenville. He proceeds to describe the fort. 'It is about one hundred and twenty yards from the river on a very excellent high bank of commanding ground. A square with a large blockhouse on each corner and picquets between each blockhouse form the fort. . . . The big gate fronting the main on the west, and the sally port the river, with the guard house over the latter. The blockhouse serves for all the men and the officers' houses are each side of the big gate, the back part of them serving as a row of pickets. It is garrisoned by Capt. Hamtramck's and Mercer's companies, the former commanding.' There were probably one hundred and fifty or two hundred soldiers.

"Howe in his Historical Collections says, 'it was dismantled at the time of Wayne's victory.' That would be in 1794, giving the fort a life of seven years. Mr. Doyle of our society, in a sketch of Steubenville in 1879 says it was abandoned about 1790 and destroyed by fire. Mr. Doyle also states that the blockhouses were twenty-eight feet square, and the length of the picket line between each blockhouse was one hundred and fifty-feet. This would make the fort a square of two hundred and thirty-eight feet. Gen. A. G. McCook, who recently examined the outline, was surprised at the great size of the fort. I imagine the soldiers built it themselves without expense to the government.

"Some of Maj. Beatty's records are somewhat remarkable. Going to Fort Pitt with Maj. Hamtramck and Gen. Harmer in Gen. Harmer's splendid barge fifty-two feet long, rowed by twelve men in white uniforms and white caps, he says: 'Arrived safe at Pittsburg, had an elegant dance and kicked up a dust as usual.'

"Maj. Hamtramck, the commander of our fort was not a favorite with Washington. In a letter to Knox, Secretary of War, dated Mount Vernon, August 13, 1792, Washington says: 'No measures should be left unassayed to treat with the Wabash Indians, nor can the goods be better applied than in effectuating this desirable purpose; but I think a person of more dignified character that Maj. Hamtramck should be employed in the negotiation.' A writer in The Michigan Pioneer collections, speaks of 'the Frog on Horseback', as Hamtramck was called from his small size and singular appearance when riding. His small and ungainly person may have been the cause that Gen. Washington did not think him a fit person to negotiate with Indians. He may have thought that a fine personal presence and a manly, dignified bearing like his own would be more likely to impress the Indians. However that may be, Mad Anthony Wayne, in reporting the great battle of 1794 in which he crushed the Indians and gave us peace to this day, speaks of Hamstramck's bravery with no stinted praise."

All government records concerning Fort Steuben were destroyed by fire, and aside from the journal of Maj. Beatty there are no original data. However, it is mentioned by the journal of John Mathews, one of the surveyors of the seven ranges, of which an account is given in these sketches.

The Capt. Kirkwood mentioned as the purchaser of the farm given the brave Johnson boys, erected a fort or blockhouse on the site of Kirkwood, now in Belmont county. Capt. Kirkwood became famous not only for brave service in the Revolutionary war, but further from the fact that he had been a captain in the only regiment furnished the patriot forces by Delaware. His regiment was reduced to one company in the battle of Camden, and on account of the small force raised by his state, in accordance with a rule, he could not be promoted, although his gallant services warranted advancement. In 1789 Capt. Kirkwood came to the Ohio country, settling in Peace township in what is now Belmont county, where he erected a cabin. Three years later he began the erection of a blockhouse which was not finished in the spring of 1791, and during the night he was attacked in his cabin by a force of Indians. Fortunately a party of soldiers from Fort Henry, a mile above Kirkwood and on the opposite side of the river, were in the cabin at the time. The Indians began the attack by setting fire to the roof, which was ablaze when discovered by the occupants of the cabin, who began tearing off the roof. The Indians kept up a fire at the men at work on the roof from under cover of the unfinished blockhouse. Capt. Biggs, on the first alarm ran down the ladder to get his rifle, when a bullet entered a window and wounded him in one of his wrists. The Indians surrounded the cabin and attempted to chop down the door with their tomahawks, but the whites braced it with the puncheons taken from the floor. In the panic, several of the men in the cabin expressed their intention of attempting to escape, but Capt. Kirkwood declaring that he would take the life of the first man who attempted to leave the cabin, the threats were silenced. The Indians brought brush and piling it about the cabin, set fire to it, but those within smothered the flames first with water and milk and then with damp earth. The fight was kept up for two hours, and daylight appearing the Indians retreated. Seven of the defenders of the cabin were wounded, one, a Mr. Walker, mortally. After this affair Capt. Kirkwood removed to Delaware. On his route, he met with a party of St. Clair's troops, then on their way to Cincinnati. Exasperated by the Indian attack on his cabin he accepted command of a company of Delaware troops and was killed in St. Clair's Defeat, in a brave attempt to repel the Indians with his bayonet.[47]

---

[47] Caldwell.

According to a statement made by Gen. Weir, of Belmont county, who informed the author of the History of Belmont and Jefferson counties, that the story was first related to him by McArthur himself, Lieut. Duncan McArthur, afterward governor, with a dozen other scouts occupied the Kirkwood blockhouse just before Wayne's treaty. One morning they noticed an Indian dodging along behind the trees and not far from the fort. He had been sent out by a body of Indians who had ambushed about three miles below on the Ohio river bank, to decoy the soldiers from the blockhouse. As soon as discovered McArthur and his men started out to capture the Indian. They followed him, and as they neared the place of ambush, the savages fired, killing six of the whites instantly. So unexpected was the attack that the remaining six were completely bewildered, but they turned and retreated, McArthur behind. As he turned his head to take in the situation, his foot caught a grapevine and he fell on his face. As he fell the Indians discharged their rifles at him, but none of the bullets touched him. He regained his feet immediately and with the swiftness for which he was noted, he soon distanced the Indians who pursued him. The party regained the fort and in the afternoon returned to the scene of the ambush and buried their fallen companions. McArthur said in after years that it was that grapevine that made him governor of Ohio.

There were also several blockhouses north of the site of Steubenville, between Wills creek and Yellow creek. On a farm of G. DeSellem near Port Homer are the remains of ancient mounds and fortifications, and judging from the stone implements found in this vicinity there must have been a settlement of mound builders there years ago.

X.

Survey of the First Seven Ranges — The System Adopted by the United States the Plan of Hutchins—Township One of Range One in Jefferson County — Difficulties of Making the Survey — Indians Disturb the Progress of the Work — Extracts from the Journal of Surveyor Mathews — A Pioneer Corn Husking.

The first public survey of the lands northwest of the Ohio river was the seven ranges of Congress lands made by authority of Congress in pursuance of an act passed May 20, 1785. Thos. Hutchins, who had been the military engineer under Col. Boquet, and was geographer of the United States, had charge of the surveys, and it was his system then adopted that is still in force. On May 27, 1785, Congress elected a surveyor from each state, and in July of the next year, the surveyors under direction of Hutchins, assembled at Fort Pitt, and soon were at work on one of the most important enterprises ever projected by the government. The first line ran westward from the intersection of the Ohio river and the western boundary of Pennsylvania, forty-two miles. On the south side of the line, being the geographer's line, the seven ranges of townships six miles square, were laid out. These adjoin Pennsylvania and extend to the Ohio river. The present counties of Jefferson, Columbiana, Carroll, Tuscarawas, Harrison, Guernsey, Belmont, Noble, Monroe and Washington, are, in whole or in part, within the territory of the first seven ranges. The ranges were numbered from one to seven from the Pennsylvania line westward, and the townships one, two, three, etc., from the river northward. These townships were sub-divided into sections one mile square. The numbering of the ranges and townships started in Jefferson county, township one of range one taking in the northwest corner of Wells township, including sections twenty-nine, thirty, thirty-four, thirty-five and thirty-six. Section one, which is cut off by the river, would be located a mile above Warrenton.

As would naturally be conjectured, the surveyors encountered many difficulties in the performance of their tremendous task, and not the least of these was the risk of life at the hands of the savages, who had been taught by the defeated British to keep up the cry that "No white man should plant corn west of the Ohio." In his journal, July 21, 1786, Maj. Beatty[48] wrote: "River rose nine or ten foot last night, water strong; was obliged to tow our boat up one or two ripples. Stopped opposite the mouth of Little Beaver to see Capt. Hutchins and the surveyor who is here encamped, intending soon to cross the river and begin the survey of the Continental Land; six or seven miles below McIntosh met two boats[49] with the baggage of three companies that left McIntosh this morning for to camp at Mingo Bottom. Arrived at McIntosh five o'clock, where was only Capt. Ferguson's company. There is three islands between Big and Little Beaver and several more between that and Yellow creek and below the latter."

On August 3 Maj. Beatty wrote that he was waiting on Maj. North, who was to accompany him to the Muskingum. In this entry he speaks of two detachments from Capt. Mercer's company who had gone up Short creek to destroy some improvements and dispossess the occupants of the lands. This was the Carpenter settlement, made by people from Jacob's creek on the other side of the river. Maj. Beatty continued down as far as Kentucky, and returning in September, says he arrived at the Muskingum on the 11th, where his party found everybody glad to see them. He found that Col. Harmar had detached Capt. Hart's company to join Maj. Hamtramck, who was with the surveyors, who had been very much surprised at information received from an Indian to the effect that the Indians were gathering in the Shawanese towns and contemplated an attack on Fort Harmar. He reached Wheeling on the 21st, where he found the people from below all assembled, having been surprised by the appearance of Indians in the neighborhood. There were rumors afloat that a large body of Indians was preparing to attack the settlement. Other notes from Maj. Beatty's journal are given with the account of Fort Steuben.

The journal of John Mathews, a nephew of Gen. Putnam, who was an assistant in the survey of the first seven ranges, furnishes much of interest about the difficulties encountered in the work. On Saturday, July 29, 1786, the party arrived at Pittsburg, where it was found that the surveyors had gone down the Ohio to Little Beaver, and he followed under direction of Gen. Tupper. On the Monday following he arrived at the surveyor's camp, where he found the surveyors waiting for troops from Mingo Bottom, which troops were to protect the surveyors. On August 5 the troops arrived and encamped on the east side of the river. On August 16, under the superintendence of Capt. Adam Hoops, Mathews began the survey of the second range of townships. On the night of the 16th he camped five miles from the river, on the east and west line. On the 6th of September he went out with Gen. Tupper to survey the seventh range of townships, the party consisting of fifty men, thirty-six of them being soldiers. On the 18th, they were at Nine Shilling creek, in what is now Tuscarawas county, where an express rider from Beaver informed them that the Shawanese were on the war path, and were making all preparations to move on the surveyors with the purpose of scalping not only the surveyors but likewise all the whites found in the Ohio country. This so alarmed the surveyors that they abandoned the work and retreated to Fort McIntosh. However, in a short time the work was resumed, the surveyors descending the river to Mingo Bottom, Mathews stopping with William Greathouse opposite Mingo. He visited Esquire McMahan, six miles below the cabin of Greathouse, where he found the surveyors collected, determined to continue part of the ranges, under escort of Maj. Hamtramck's detachment of troops, they being located at Fort Steuben, which had just been built. On Wednesday, the 11th, they crossed the river to a point one mile below Mingo, and taking the route of Crawford's trail encamped at night about two miles from the Mingo town. The party consisted of the surveyor, his assistant and twenty-five soldiers. The following morning the party continued on Crawford's trail in nearly a northwest direction, making about six miles by five o'clock in the evening. On the 13th the party left the Crawford trail, it tending too much to the southwest, and steered to the northwest and came to the boundary of the third range. The surveyors continued their work without incident until the 30th, when the horses were lost, having been stolen by a party of Indians, who had been in ambush the greater part of the night, giving the surveyors further evidence that the Shawanese were on the war path to prevent the survey. The next day the soldiers built a blockhouse. From the 1st to the 7th of November the party were on the boundary of seventh township of third range, in the United States Military district, striking what was then known as Indian Wheeling creek, so called because it was on the Ohio (Indian) side of the river; following this stream to the river, they crossed and took dinner at Col. Zane's house at Wheeling. They remained in the neighborhood of Wheeling, stopping with McMahon and Greathouse. On the 10th they remained at the Greathouse cabin to hear a sermon preached by a Methodist minister, located in that early day on the east side of the river. On the 11th Mathews attended a corn husking on the plantation of Harman Greathouse, which is described in the journal. A large party of settlers had gathered, the husking bee being the notable social function of the pathfinders, and they made the most of the occasion, for they had little else to take the mind from the dangers of frontier life. They had plenty of rye whiskey, which added to the hilarity of the participants, who danced, sang, related stories of adventure, quarreled, and all who could walk left for their homes at ten o'clock. Those too drunk to walk home remained at the cabin over night, "hugging the whiskey bottle and arguing religion." The next day, which was Sunday, others called at the Greathouse cabin and assisted in drinking the whiskey left over from the frolic of the previous night. On the 22nd and 23rd Gen. Tupper and Col. Sprout left for the East and the surveying party disbanded for the winter, the snow then being two and one-half feet deep. Mathews remained at the Greathouse cabin with Capt. Hutchins, who left for the East on January 27, 1787. On February 3, Mathews received a letter from Capt. Hamtramck requesting him to take charge of the commissary department of Fort Steuben, which office he accepted, going to the fort in company with a Mr. Ludlow, on Sunday, the 4th. He took charge on the 8th, the stores having been delivered over to his care by Mr. Peters, but he was impressed with the belief that this sort of work would be difficult to perform by one not acquainted with it, declaring that he had never had the least experience in a commissary department. He notes that he had to issue provisions to about one hundred men, including soldiers and the surveying party.

---

[48] Major Beatty was Paymaster of the Army. [49] The boats loaded with provisions were going to the men engaged in building Fort Steuben.

The survey was recommenced in April, and in notes dated on April 17 and May 8, he mentions the fact that the surveyors had gone into the woods to continue the survey of the ranges, and expresses apprehension for their safety, but on the 10th the party returned to the fort all well. On the 12th information had been received at Fort Steuben that the Indians had murdered a family on the night of the 11th, about fifteen miles below the fort. Mathews here notes that on his way to Mahan's he met people from Wheeling who informed him that one man and two children had been killed, two children taken prisoner and one woman seriously wounded. On the 23rd Mathews was ordered to gather in a lot of packhorses on which to carry provisions for the surveyors, but returned to the fort on the 25th, not having had very good success, but he expressed the belief that the prospect of procuring the horses was fairly good. During his absence, a portion of the troops had been sent to the Muskingum, the remainder to follow, but their further destination was unknown. He was informed by Maj. Hamstramck that the stores in his charge would be removed to Wheeling, and that Fort Steuben would be the rendezvous of surveyors and their escorts during the summer. On the morning of the 31st he left for Wheeling with the provisions in a canoe, stopping over night at the mouth of Short creek, where he found Mr. McFarlane and Mr. Wheatland. He landed the provisions at Wheeling on June 1, and proposed erecting his tent near the store of Esquire Zane. On the 2nd the surveyors had arrived on the west side of the river and were camped near the mouth of Indian Wheeling creek, waiting for escorts from Fort Harmar. Mathews again went after horses, procuring all that were needed, and the troops having arrived from Fort Harmar, on the 12th the surveying party was ready to march for their respective ranges. On the 23rd he notes that troops from Fort McIntosh had passed down the river, and that the Indians had lately done mischief about ten miles above Wheeling; many had been seen about Wheeling and he was apprehensive from many circumstances that the summer would be a troublesome one. On the 30th of July he writes that "Indians have been seen in this quarter lately and have stolen several horses. About ten days past, the signs of a party were discovered near Short creek, and were followed by a party of our people, who came up with them about four miles below Wheeling — killed and wounded two more of the Indians, who were eleven in number. Our party consisted of only eleven men. The Indians were attacked unexpectedly in their camp, and fled with precipitation, leaving their blankets and moccasins behind them. It is supposed they were Chippewas." On the afternoon of August 4, the people along the river bank were alarmed by the screaming of a person begging for life and the report of two guns. A party of armed men immediately crossed the river and found on the lower end of Mingo Bottom the body of a man who had been scalped. The Indians were pursued but not overtaken. On August 5 Mr. Mathews writes that Mr. McMahan with twenty volunteers crossed the river expecting to capture the Indians who had killed the man on Mingo Bottom. At least they were determined to range the Muskingum country where they hoped to fall in with Indians or come upon their trail and follow them to their settlements. On the 6th Mr. Mathews embarked with Capt. Mills, Lieut. Spear and Dr. Scott for Fort Harmar, stopping at noon at a settlement on Short creek, on the northwest side of the river, where twelve families were settled, and who were determined to hold possession against all opposition, either from the Indians or the troops. These settlers had been ordered to remove both by Ensign Armstrong and by Gen. Butler; their improvements had been destroyed, only to be re-erected after the troops had left, so determined were they to hold the land upon which they had settled and on which they were making effort to build homes and maintain them. "After a drink of good punch," writes Mathews, "we proceeded on our way, arriving at Wheeling at 6 o'clock, and tarried all night. Here we were informed that five Indians were seen last evening between this place and Ohio Court House." He speaks of going out to Cross creek to dig ginseng, following Williamson's trail, reaching the ridge dividing Short creek from the Tuscarawas, where they found the root in great abundance. "Men accustomed to the work could dig sixty pounds a day." "We were much surprised," he writes on September 29, "to hear that three men had been killed by the Indians and one taken prisoner, about ten miles up Cross creek, who were out digging ginseng on Sunday last. I have reached my old quarters, and will give them liberty to take my scalp if they catch me out after ginseng again." On October 12 he writes: "This evening Esquire McMahan returned from over the river, where he had been with a party of men in pursuit of Indians, who yesterday morning had killed an old man near Fort Steuben. He did not discover them, but by the signs thought them to be seven or eight in number."

During November Mr. Mathews assisted in the survey of lands on the west side of the river bought at the sales in New York by Col. Martin and Mr. Simpson. While on this work he met Col. Meigs of the Ohio company and was informed that he had been appointed as one of the surveyors of the company's lands on the Muskingum, and that the work would be done that winter.

The public lands embraced in the first seven ranges were offered for sale by the government in New York in 1787, and the sales were afterwards continued in Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Steubenville.

XI.

The Indian Warfare Continues in the Ohio Country — The Revolutionary War does not Close until after the Wayne Victory at Fallen Timbers — The East Favored Making the Line the River Rather than the Lake — The Wayne Victory brings Peace — The Western Whiskey Insurrection a Scotch-Irish Rebellion — Why they Protested Against the Excise Tax — Why Hamilton Persecuted the Western Settlers.

The first lands sold by Congress were to the Ohio company organized in Boston. By the terms of this purchase the first legal settlement was made in Ohio at Marietta in 1788, by eight families, but the best blood of New England coursed their veins—they were soldiers of the Revolution, men and women of tremendous energy, possessing such force of character that much was expected of them and much was given by them. It was two years later before legal settlements were made in Jefferson county, although as has been shown there were considerable settlements all along the river as early as 1780-85. The Boston company was met with apparent cordiality by the Indians, but the Americans did not have confidence in the expressed friendship of the Wyandots and the Delawares whose chief was Captain Pipe. His duplicity was well known to them, for he had opposed the missionaries on the Tuscarawas and had urged the warriors during the Revolution to drive the whites over the Ohio. The settlers from New England, while they shook hands with the Indians, mistrusted them, and as soon as Pipe departed the pioneers began building fortifications.

In the northwest Brant had organized in 1786 the tribes into a western confederation. Aided by the British, it was his intention to make matters so uncomfortable for the pioneers that settlements would be abondoned, and it was the hope of the British by this means to regain the territory. "And, right here," says Caldwell, "had not the settlement at Marietta been made just when it was and in the manner it was, the British plan of hemming in the Americans east of the Ohio river would undoubtedly have succeeded, and thus postponed for a generation, at least, the creation of the new states of the west."

Pipe and his warriors who had reconnoitred at the mouth of the Muskingum in 1788, retired to plan and foment raids upon the settlers. Under pretense of negotiating a treaty of peace, they assembled at Duncan's falls. Here they met Governor St. Clair; but instead of making the proposed treaty, their "bad Indians", purposely brought along, fell upon the white sentries, killing two and wounding others. This put an end to the treaty, as was intended, for several months, and in the meantime the Indians prowled around Marietta and up the west side of the Ohio river, frequently killing the whites and driving out those attempting to settle; many of the settlers along the Jefferson county river front being harassed so constantly that hardly an hour of peace could be said to have been their lot. Between the Indians and the troops they were so menaced that it is one of the wonders how they maintained the fortitude that characterized them through it all.

In January, 1789, another attempt was made to quiet the savages by treaty. This treaty was made at Fort Harmar, between the settlers and the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottawas, Miamis, Pottowatamies, Senecas, but like all the others by reason of the British desire to prevent settlements in the Ohio country, it too proved futile, and in the following summer John Mathews,[50] who had been one of the surveyors of the first seven ranges in which Jefferson county is located, and his party were attacked on the Virginia side of the river, and seven of his men shot and scalped. During the same summer twenty men were shot and scalped on both sides of the river, some of the depredations being within the bounds of Jefferson county. In 1790, the Indians attacked a number of boats on the river, the boats being owned by emigrants, and killed or carried off those on board.

The raiding parties always had a white man as a decoy who hailed the boats in a friendly manner as they descended the river, just as the fated Lochry expedition was lured to the shore in 1781 by the British and Indians at the mouth of the Great Miami.

---

[50] From whose journal quotations have been made.

These decoys were renegades like Simon Girty, McKee and Elliot. "Gov. St. Clair and Gen. Harmar," says Caldwell, "had adopted the most pacific policy to conciliate the Indians and gain their friendship, but to no purpose." It having become evident that more severe measures must be employed Gov. St. Clair concluded to give the Indians a severe chastisement and settle the matter once and for all. Gov. St. Clair evidently not believing that the British were at the head of the whole wicked business, sent a letter to Gov. Hamilton of the British fort at Detroit, who showed the letter to the Indian chiefs, who received from him powder, ball and arms as well as whisky, with which to carry on their murders on the Ohio and the Muskingum. Harmar marched an army of one thousand men into the Indian country of the northwest, the savages retiring before him. After destroying some of the Indians' towns, he was intercepted by the enraged Indians, driven back and utterly routed. There was but little left of his army when he got back to the Ohio. Harmar was disgraced, hundreds of good men destroyed and the border laid more open than ever to Indian depredations. This was followed in 1791 by St. Clair's disastrous defeat. The general had four horses shot from under him and received several bullet holes in his clothing. The battle lasted three hours and thirteen hundred men were killed and wounded. Gen. St. Clair was removed as general and retired in disgrace to Ligonier, Pa., although the defeat was not his fault but rather of the War Department. His remains are buried at Greensburg, Pa., and over the grave is a small monument erected by the Masonic fraternity.[51] St. Clair was a gentleman of the most sensitive feeling, and his removal from his command by Gen. Wilkinson broke his heart. St. Clair was not well treated and his last days call to mind that Republics are ungrateful. When George Rogers Clark was physically broken by unparalleled efforts for his country, his achievement being greater than that of any other man of his day and generation, he was in actual want. With the injustice heaped upon him his spirits fell and he became intemperate and paralyzed.

---

[51] The Greensburg Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution have (1898) inaugurated efforts that will result in a suitable monument to mark the grave of Gov. St. Clair.

But just before his death Virginia had the fact of her injustice called to mind by a very spirited observation made by the old man to a delegation sent to present him with a jeweled sword. The sword was given with much ceremony, he listening to the speeches in silence; rejecting the proffered weapon, he responded: "Go tell Virginia that when she needed a sword, I found one; now I need bread." Just before he died the state voted him $400 a year.[52] But no granite shaft marks his grave. After the defeat of St. Clair the Delawares, Shawanese and other warriors came out of the "black forest" of the northwest, yelling the war-whoop along the Mohican, over to, and past the Moravian ruins of Tuscarawas, down the Muskingum, Scioto and Miami, and into Kentucky and Virginia. They wore buffalo horns fastened on their heads, and were costumed in bearskins and breech-clouts, while scalps of St. Clair's soldiers dangled from their belts, and as they rushed along re-echoed the old war cry, "No white man shall plant corn in Ohio."

In the spring and summer of 1792, efforts were made by the Government to unite the hostile Indian tribes in a treaty of peace. At the instigation of British emissaries they refused to meet unless assured in advance that the Ohio should be the boundary in future treaties. This would have made the river the boundary instead of the lake. "Yet strange as it may seem," says Caldwell, "there were distinguished men in the east who were willing that the Ohio should be the boundary." The eastern statesmen and diplomats, including Benjamin Franklin, who could see a white settler scalped with composure, but wept at the death of an Indian,[53] were fearful that if new states were made in the west the new settlements would depopulate the east and reduce the political power of the east. They were also impressed with the belief that obtains to this day, that the western settlers were a lawless rabble who did nothing but violate treaties and kill Indians. In September, 1792, Gen. Putman and Heckewelder met several of the Indian tribes on the Wabash and concluded a treaty. That winter other tribes agreed to hold a council on the Maumee, which took place the next summer. The Indian council finding that it could not make the Ohio the boundary refused to treat. They continued to cry, "No white man shall ever plant corn in Ohio." After this the east concluded that the pioneers ought to have relief, but not until the brave women of the west sent in a petition steeped in blood; and Anthony Wayne was sent, and "He came crushing through the forests like a behemoth." The narrative goes on: "He left Fort Washington—now Cincinnati—with his legions in October, 1793, and went northwest to Harmar's and St. Clair's trail, building defenses as he moved on. At Greenville he wintered and drilled his men. In June, 1794, he camped on St. Clair's battlefield and buried the bones of six hundred soldiers, bleaching there since 1791. Here the confederated tribes disputed Wayne's further progress. Being reinforced by eleven hundred Kentuckians, his force aggregated about three thousand men; he soon routed the savages and pushed on to the headquarters of the tribes at the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee rivers. They retreated along the Maumee forty miles to the rapids where there was a British fort. Here they prepared for battle. Wayne offered peace without a fight in case they gave up the Ohio river as a boundary. A portion of the chiefs desired to do so, but the remainder under British influence, refused. On August 20 he moved on the enemy, who again retreated a short distance and fought him. His whole force being brought into action, soon routed them in every direction, leaving the battle ground strewn with dead Indians and British soldiers in disguise. Gen. Wayne's loss was thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded. The Indians in the battle numbered one thousand four hundred, while the main body was not in action, being some two miles off; but hearing of the defeat they all scattered to their homes, and Wayne laid waste their towns and corn fields for fifty miles, thus ending the war—the war of the Revolution, with the battle of Fallen Timbers. The treaty of Versailles had been made thirteen years before, but England had not been subdued. She had possession of the posts in the northwest—at Detroit, Mackinaw and Green Bay, at which the Indian allies were incited. The British had a fort below Maumee City. It was the evident intention of the English to prevent the settlement of the northwest and force the boundary at the Ohio river instead of the lakes.

---

[52] Smith. [53] Dr. W. H. Egle.

The Revolutionary war was not, as many historians would have us believe, fought within a radius of twenty-five miles of Boston.

After the Wayne treaty at Greenville, in 1795, the pioneer took heart, and then began the enterprises that have made Ohio one of the greatest in the sisterhood of states.

Wayne had recruited much of his army in western Pennsylvania, the Virginia Panhandle and the Ohio country, and it was largely composed of Scotch-Irish, of which blood he himself was a scion. Those from Kentucky who joined him at Cincinnati were also of this race, for many of them had left western Pennsylvania to avoid prosecution and persecution for refusing to pay the excise, the Government having sent an army over the mountains to harass the settlers. Many of Wayne's smartest scouts at Fallen Timbers were of these people. The persecution of those engaged in the Whisky Insurrection had much to do with the settlement of eastern Ohio, and to-day hundreds of descendants of those engaged in that rebellion against the Federal Government are living within the borders of Jefferson county. They were men trained in war for generations in battles fought for civil and religious liberty in the old country; men who fought in the French and English war and in the American Revolution against English tyranny. After all their fighting for liberty, and just at the hour they were preparing to enjoy the fruits of the victory, they were naturally incensed when the Federal Government sent an armed force to take out of their pockets the money received for distilled spirits they manufactured from the corn produced on their own land; they were angry, for it was from this form of product that they received the only cash with which to buy the few necessaries that could not be obtained by barter, and it is not surprising that they declared that the battle for liberty must be refought before liberty was really and truly theirs. The western Pennsylvania men were in all the western expeditions — they were with Clarke, with Crawford in his campaigns, with Lochry in his disastrous expedition to the mouth of the Miami, with Williamson at Gnadenhutten—they were ever ready to bear the brunt of battle for liberty, and had it not been for these intrepid Indian fighters the settlement of the Ohio country would have been delayed years. These were the men who have been denounced by historical writers as traitors and nullifiers, because they refused at first to see either liberty or justice in the demands of the Federal exciseman that they divide what little cash they had received for the sale of the only product for which cash could be obtained, for they believed that they had the right to do as they pleased with their own corn and barley, without interference of government—a principle handed down all the line since John Knox denounced tyranny of government; and when their corn and barley was turned into liquor they could not see that the Government had any more right to tax it than it had a right to tax the raw material out of which it was made or the finished product of corn in the shape of bacon and flour. These men had fought for the triumph of a principle, and that principle was liberty. If taxing their money product was manifestation of liberty they could not realize it, so they objected and put their objection into force. However, they soon saw the necessity of maintaining the Federal Government with funds raised through internal revenue and gave up the objection, paying the tax as cheerfully as other taxes were paid. Hamilton's real motive for persecuting these people was to give a manifestation of the power of the Federal Government. The insurrection was in the year Wayne won his victory, and the two were notable factors in the settlement of Ohio by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

XII.

The Treaty at Greenville Gives Impetus to Immigration—Jefferson County Proclaimed by Gov. St. Clair—Its Boundaries—Steubenville Laid Out—The Founders—Steubenville Land Office—The Very First Settlers—The First Vote and the First Officials—Growth of the County and Town.

Wayne's treaty with the Indians at Greenville gave the settlers hope and courage, and stimulated as well the immigration of settlers from the east to the Ohio country. The rush to

Ohio was marvellous. Many of Wayne's soldiers took up land in the territory and became citizens of the country they had wrested from the savage. Eastern Ohio was settled principally by people from western Pennsylvania and Virginia. Jefferson county was erected by proclamation of Governor St. Clair, July 29, 1797, the boundaries embracing all of Ohio from Lake Erie on the north to the southern line of Belmont county on the south, and from the Ohio river and Pennsylvania line on the east to the Cuyahoga and Muskingum rivers on the west.

Steubenville, the county seat, was laid out the same year, and the first sale of lots was on August 25. The founders of the city were Bezaleel Wells and James Ross. Wells, of English descent, was born in Baltimore, in 1772, was a graduate of William and Mary college and, being a government surveyor, was given one thousand one hundred acres of land on the west side of the Ohio river, the north boundary of the tract being North street. Ross, who was a prominent lawyer in Pitssburg, owned the land north of the Wells tract, and they jointly laid out the town of Steubenville, naming it in honor of Fort Steuben, which had been called for Baron Frederick William Augustus Steuben, the Prussian officer who came to the aid of the patriot cause and by his wonderful military genius brought a victorious army out of chaos. The town as then laid out comprised the territory now within the lines of the river bank, alley C on the west, North street on the north and South street on the south. The ground was divided into two hundred and thirty-six inlots sixty by one hundred and eighty feet, with twenty outlots of five acres each.

Wells was noble in his bearing, and his energy and enterprise were unbounded, and his efforts along industrial lines gave Steubenville at once a prominent place on the frontier. He was associated with all the early manufacturing enterprises, but finally overreached himself, and, sad as it may seem, he, the most prominent, the most enterprising and the wealthiest man in all this region, was in after years imprisoned for debts his large property holdings could not liquidate. He died in 1846, but two granddaughters are still living in Steubenville. James Ross was born at York, Pa., in 1762, was one of the first two senators

BEZALEEL WELLS. Photo by Filson & Son.

One of the Founders of Steubenville.

JAMES ROSS.

Photo by Filson & Son

One of the Founders of Steubenville.

from Pennsylvania, and in 1799 and in 1805 was candidate for governor. He had taken up large tracts of land in Ohio, a portion of which was in Steubenville. Ross county was named for him as were streets in Steubenville named in honor of both Ross and Wells. Wells laid out Canton and a town in Wayne county, which he abandoned as an enterprise, another town having been chosen as the county seat.

The new town made as rapid progress as was possible with the facilities at command on the frontier at that time. There were no graded roads and the only means of reaching the town were by river and over Indian trails through an almost unbroken forest. Of course the first houses were log cabins, but it is recorded that a brick chimney was built by John Ward in 1798, and in the same year Wells began the erection of a manor house in a grove on the river front, the land being bounded by Third and South streets. The mansion was finished and occupied in 1800, in which for years the owner entertained in royal style, his hospitality being most lavish. The place was called "The Grove", and by that name it is still known, and is to-day one of the finest specimens of colonial architecture in this part of the state. The town was incorporated February 14, 1805.

The establishment of the Steubenville Land District for registration and sale of government land by act of Congress May 10, 1800, and the location of the Land Office in Steubenville, gave the town great prominence and the settlement impetus that was wonderful for the time. David Hoge, of Pennsylvania, was the first Registrar, holding the office for forty years. Zaccheus Biggs was the first Receiver of the Land Office, he having been appointed July 1, 1800, and the second Obadiah Jennings, who was a politician and lawyer, but afterwards became a noted Presbyterian minister. He was succeeded by Peter Wilson, who was appointed in 1808, serving thirteen years, and was succeeded by Gen. Samuel Stokely, son of Capt. Thomas Stokely, who made a miraculous escape from the Indians who captured the Lochry expedition at the mouth of the Big Miami in 1781. Gen. Stokely served twelve years and was succeeded by John Viers, who served until 1840, when the office was discontinued and the unsold lands in the district were placed in the Chillicothe district.

Aside from the settlements on the river frontage the county did not grow rapidly in population. There were settlements on Island creek and Cross creek as early as 1797, and at about the same time there were larger settlements in Mount Pleasant township, mostly made up of Scotch-Irish and Quakers, the latter from North Carolina and the former from Virginia and Pennsylvania. They were as delighted with the Short creek valley as was John Carpenter before them, and they followed the stream to its headwaters. As has been stated there were many settlers in this valley previous to the survey, all of whom were dispossessed, but returned and finally held title by purchase. Warren, which is in this valley, was the first township organized, the names of the other original townships being Short Creek, Archer, Steubenville, and Knox. Benjamin Shane was undoubtedly the first settler on Island creek back of the river, locating as early as 1797.

The ancestor of the McClellan family, Robert McClellan, a cousin of Robert, the noted scout who was with Wayne, was among the first settlers of Knox township, coming from Westmoreland county, Pa., in 1808. Descendants still occupy the land then purchased.

Ephraim Cooper and William Campbell built the first cabin on the line now the state road between Wills creek and Yellow creek, in 1795.

James Dunlevy, a Scotch-Irish Episcopalian, came to Jefferson county from what is now Fayette county, Pa., and settled in Cross Creek township in 1796, and was perhaps the first settler, as the records show that William Whitcraft, George Mahan, and William McElroy, supposed to be the first, settled in the spring of 1797. Dunlevy owned a farm about three miles west of Steubenville and was the sheriff of the county at his death in 1806. A daughter was born in January, 1805, Nancy Dunlevy, who was the mother of Judge James H. Anderson, of Columbus, the author of "The Life of Col. William Crawford," published by the Ohio Historical Society, a conscientious as well as able tribute to the worthy deeds of one of the noblest of the Revolutionary soldiers.

The first settlers of Ross township located from 1798 to 1805, notably Thomas George, Henry Crabs, Isaac Shane and Mordecai Moore, although there were others, called squatters, previous to the purchase of the lands by these men, among the squatters being Thomas Bay, who was with Williamson in his Gnadenhutten expedition. Moore was one of the early salt boilers and a person of very strong force of character, his descendants, of like elements of strength, still living in the township; in fact descendants of most of the early settlers still live in the county, and their prominence in affairs gives evidence of the probity of the sires. Moore was stolen by slave-drivers on a street in London when a small boy and brought to Philadelphia, where he was sold to a Quaker, who held him in bondage until he reached his majority, when he was given his freedom, together with a mattock and shovel, and no doubt, a blessing, as recompense for the long and faithful service to the benevolent Friend. Soon after his location on Yellow creek Mr. Moore engaged in salt boiling and obtained, as late as 1815, ten dollars per barrel for salt, which article of necessity and commerce was much higher in price before the process of evaporating the mineral was introduced in the west. From near Moore's salt works, and shortly after locating, perhaps in 1799, Thomas George went with two pack horses to Baltimore and returned with salt, which was then worth eight dollars a bushel. Henry Crabs located in 1798, the year after Steubenville was laid out. He was accompanied by his wife, the two having all they possessed tied in a quilt. They crossed the river to the site of Steubenville in a skiff. The settlement was very spare, he in his lifetime mentioning "Hans Wilson, Esq., Cable and Black Harry as among the few inhabitants." Crabs erected a blacksmith shop one mile east of the John Kilgore farm, near Richmond, where he did work for the settlers, there being quite a number of families in that vicinity. He made plow points, axes and trace chains, all the raw material having to be packed across the mountains. Considering the difficulties encountered, the wildness of the country and the facilities as to labor and tools, the progress made by the pioneers should cause the present generation to stand in amazement at the marvelous achievement.

Andrew Ault, whose father had been captain of an American privateer during the Revolutionary war, and who had built and operated the first flaxseed oil mill west of the mountains, near Redstone (Brownsville) Pa., settled on the ridge between Island creek and Wills creek, in July, 1797. They were rapidly followed by others, for in 1800 a Presbyterian church was organized in this neighborhood, while another church of the same denomination was organized on the ridge between what is now Wintersville and Richmond, the same year, showing that the population in that immediate neighborhood was growing. A Presbyterian church had also been organized on Short creek near the site of Mount Pleasant, in 1798 and in 1800 a church of the same denomination had been organized on Short creek near Unionvale, the church still being known as Beech Springs. The first white child born in the limits of Wayne township was John Mansfield, who was born on Section ten in December, 1797, and Joseph Copeland was the second, in 1800. Joseph Copeland died two years ago. Rob't Carothers and Jesse Thomas, of Pennsylvania, settled on the site of Mount Pleasant in 1796, followed soon by Adam Dunlap, Col. McCune, John Taggart, Col. Joseph McKee, William Finney, David Robinson, John Pollock, William Chambers, Benjamin Scott and others, mostly Scotch-Irish people from Pennsylvania, all settling previous to 1800. The Updegraff and Stanton families, who became prominent in the Quaker church and the affairs of state, came in the latter year. There was a considerable settlement on the site of Mount Pleasant before Steubenville was settled, for it is a fact that the site of Steubenville was in timber when Ross and Wells first possessed the land.

The Quakers or Friends who were among the first settlers of Mt. Pleasant, Smithfield, Colerain, and Short Creek township, were a colony from North Carolina. They were slave holders themselves, but being struck with the conviction of the wickedness of owning chattels in man, they manumitted the slaves within the jurisdiction of their meeting in North Carolina, but after this they could not remain in a region where men were held in bondage, and the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 in the Northwest directed their eyes and steps toward the star of empire. The pro-

---

NOTE.— Dr. John Rea, grandfather of Mrs. Alfred Day of Steubenville, was pastor of the Beech Springs and Crabapple churches, the pioneer churches of that portion of the original county now Harrison county, in 1804 and for many years thereafter. He was born in Tully, Ireland, in 1772, the son of Joseph and Isabella Rea, coming to gress made by these people in four or five years in redeeming the land from the wilderness was truly marvelous, but as has been said, others had been in the same field before them. But the panic that caused such financial disaster in 1819 was most discouraging to the settlers, for some of them were in the town-booming business, having laid out Mt. Pleasant in two parts, hoping to bring the two together as one town and join with Trenton a short distance away, but to-day they still remain in three parts. In writing of this panic S. S. Tomlinson, an aged resident of Mt. Pleasant, who kindly contributed to the centennial history, says: "For the better part of two years little relief was realized from the great calamity that fastened itself upon every individual and every branch of business. A majority of the banks of the state were overthrown, but some maintained their ground, among them the Mt. Pleasant bank. Very few products of the soil would command money, even at the lowest price. Although distilleries were abundant corn commanded only ten cents a bushel, while wheat and oats were only articles of barter. Although taxes were very low it was with the greatest difficulty that money could be obtained with which to pay. My father was a mechanic, his principal business being the manufacture of chairs, and during the time of this financial distress, Samuel Irons, the owner of one of the most desirable farms in Mt. Pleasant township, called at the shop, proposing to exchange beef for chairs, stating that he was under the necessity of killing a beef so he could sell the hide for money with which to pay his taxes. Between 1820 and 1830, a family named Bartoe living in Harrison county, having stored their wheat for several years, discovered that the weevil was working on it and seemed likely to destroy it. They therefore had it ground into flour, selling one hundred barrels to John Bayne at the mouth of Short creek for one hundred dollars. These two circumstances are sufficient to illustrate the great difficulties the people had to contend with during the early history of the county. And the lessons inspired by their trials and vicissitudes have certainly been very salutary in their character—teaching as they did lessons of economy and carefulness, and that continued prosperity was never gifted with ability to achieve."

America in 1790. No one exerted a greater influence along religious lines among the Pathfinders of Jefferson county than Dr. Rea. The *Cadiz Republican* of May 12 and 26, 1898, contains two portraits of Dr. Rea and a history of the two churches by Hon. C. A. Hanna, author of "Scotch-Irish Families in America."

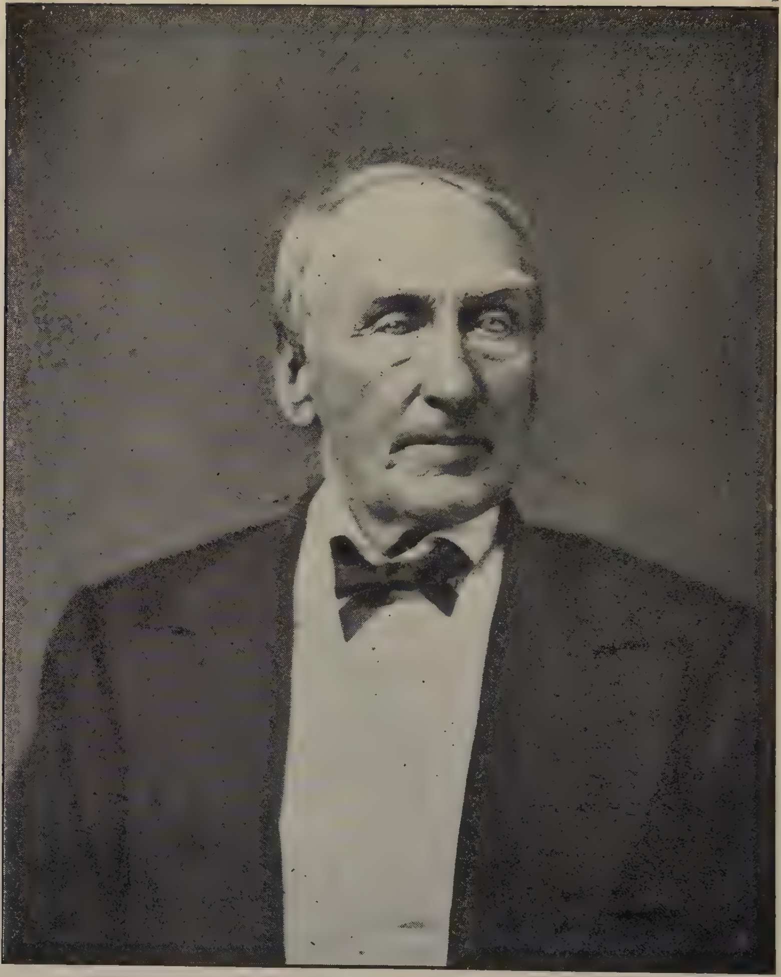
The first return of taxable property in Jefferson county was made in 1799, the townships being St. Clair, Knox, Wayne, Warren, Kirkwood and York. There were nine hundred and twenty-five heads of families reported and one hundred and eighty-one single persons. There was returned for taxation forty-eight thousand seven hundred and nine acres of woodland and five thousand five hundred and ninety-eight acres cleared land. There were one thousand one hundred and fifty-nine head of horses and two thousand and eighty-six cattle: two grist mills, four saw mills, eighteen houses and twelve ferries.

The voting population of the county in 1806, the first vote of which there is record, was eight hundred and twenty-two, all of which were cast for Edward Tiffin, but this was after Belmont, Trumbull and Columbiana counties had been organized. This year The Steubenville Herald was established.

In 1807 the vote was divided between Meigs and Massie, the first receiving four hundred and fifty-seven and the latter four hundred and thirty, the county having grown very little, if any, during that year. In 1808 Samuel Huntington received two hundred and forty-two and Thomas Worthington nine hundred and thirty-one votes. In 1812 the vote had increased to one thousand four hundred and sixty-one, a gain of nearly five hundred over the previous year.

According to a sketch of Steubenville, published in the Navigator, printed in Pitssburg, in 1818, "The town having had a favorable beginning with several favorable circumstances combined, it progressed rapidly, and in 1805 was incorporated; and is governed by a president, recorder and seven trustees. The town contained in 1810 but eight hundred inhabitants and on February 1, 1817, according to the census taken under the direction of the town council, two thousand and thirty-two inhabitants, at which time there were four hundred and fifty-three houses, three churches, a court house, and a market and town house. Its rapid growth is to be attributed, principally to the manufactories established within it. The population, generally, is orderly, industrious and sober."

The first General Assembly of the state convened on March 3, 1803, Jefferson county being represented in the House by



JAMES HUNTER. Photo by Filson & Son.

First White Child Born in Steubenville.

Rudolph Bear, Z. A. Beatty, Thomas Elliott, Isaac Meeks, Richard Beeson, Samuel Dunlap, Joseph McKee, and John Sloan, and in the Senate by Zenas Kimberly and Bezaleel Wells. The first sheriff was Francis Douglass, appointed in 1797, while John McKnight was the first elected, in 1804. John Moody was appointed treasurer in 1797, and Samuel Hunter, the father of James Hunter, the first white child born in Steubenville, the date of birth being September, 1798, was elected treasurer in 1802. Bezaleel Wells was appointed clerk of the court in 1797, and John Ward, the father of the second white child born in Steubenville, John Ward, in October of 1798, was elected clerk in 1800. Simon Sibley was elected prosecuting attorney in 1797, Zenas Kimberly, recorder, and John McKnight, coroner. The first surveyor was Isaac Jenkins, appointed in 1803. The first election for county commissioners was held April 2, 1804, and Zaccheus Biggs, Benjamin Hough and Andrew Anderson were chosen.

The first town officers were, D. Hull, president; John Ward, recorder; David Hoge, Zaccheus A. Beatty, Benjamin Hough, Thomas Vincent, John England, Martin Andrews, and Abraham Cozier, trustees, and Anthony Beck, town marshall.

XIII.

The Counties Formed Out of the Original County of Jefferson — When Erected — The Blood of the Settlers — Stanton Lacking the Qualities that Characterize the Docile Quaker — A Democrat when all Quakers were Whigs — The Thrift of the Quaker — He Grows Rich while others in the Settlement Fall Short in the Race for Wealth — Account of an Encounter Between Stanton and a Fellow Lawyer.

From the territory of the original Jefferson county Trumbull county was erected in 1799, Belmont in 1801, Geauga in 1805, Portage in 1807, Cuyahoga in 1807, Ashtabula in 1807, Tuscarawas in 1808, Stark in 1808, Harrison in 1814, Carroll in 1832, Summit in 1840, Lake in 1840, and Mahoning in 1846.

The northern part of the original Jefferson county, now included in the territory comprising Ashtabula, Trumbull, Geauga, Lake, Summit, Portage, and a part of Cuyahoga, was first settled by immigrants from Connecticut, mostly soldiers of the Revolutionary war, who, having been trained to hardships that beset the patriot armies, dared breast the wilderness and battle with savage foes to establish for themselves homes in the new country. Cleveland was settled about a year previous to the date of the first sale of lots in Steubenville, but there were settlements in the latter place before this date.

The people who first settled the Western Reserve were not Puritans; in fact, they were not moved by religious impulse of any kind, for Cleveland had been settled thirty-three years before a church of any kind was erected.[54] The Puritan came afterwards, or at least there came settlers from New England to the Western Reserve who had well grounded religious views which they manifested in church worship.

That portion of the original county out of which Stark and a portion of Tuscarawas was erected was settled mainly by Germans, a very thrifty blood from Pennsylvania. In after years the so-called Swiss-Germans immigrated to Tuscarawas. Mahoning county was settled by Pennsylvanians, a large number of Welsh coming in after the country had been developed. That portion of the county now included in Columbiana, Jefferson, Harrison, Belmont and Carroll, was settled mainly by Scotch-Irish from Virginia and Pennsylvania. A small portion of German township, Harrison county, and Salem township, Jefferson county, was settled by Germans, whose descendants still occupy the land of the fathers. Many Germans have since settled in Steubenville and Cross Creek townships, Jefferson county, buying lands cleared and improved by the Scotch-Irish, who moved west, for the sons of the pioneer fathers also became pathfinders. The large body of Quakers who occupied at an early date the townships of Mt. Pleasant and Smithfield and the adjoining townships of Colerain, in Belmont and Short Creek, in Harrison, were not the original settlers, they coming from North Carolina after the land was partly broken. They had come to Ohio to get away from what they considered the degrading influence of negro slavery — they came through the wilderness that beset their way, rejoicing that Ohio was to be a free state. This people were, perhaps, the most thrifty of the settlers, the majority of them gathering much store, distancing their neighbors of other blood and other religious tenets in the race whose goal is the accumulation of wealth. The Quakers have always possessed the philosopher's stone, which turned all its possessor touched into gold. While their neighbors continued poor, the Quakers grew in wealth, and thus in their quiet, unostentatious way exerted a potent influence in the development of the county.

---

[54] Diary of Rev. Thomas Robbins.

From this blood came Stanton, the most noted native of the county. Stanton's ancestors emigrated from Rhode Island to North Carolina, and after the death of his grandfather, Benjamin Stanton, his grandmother, Abigail (Macey) Stanton, came to Ohio and took up land in Mt. Pleasant township, where she reared her children, giving them such advantages of education as obtained in the new country, her eldest son, David, becoming a physician. David married Lucy Norman, a native of Culpepper county, Va., and these were the parents of the great war secretary. Edwin M. Stanton was not distinguished by the traits characteristic of the Quaker blood. He was never thrifty; he was more pugnacious than is usual in one from the docile race from which he sprung. The sweet, gentle spirit that possessed the heart of the peaceful Quaker was not incarnate in the great war secretary. His whole career seemed to be inconsistent with the teachings of his father's philosophy of life. A Quaker Democrat is a rare personage, but Stanton was one of the staunchest adherents to the principles of this party before the war in the whole state, his voice ever ready to advocate its principles.

Stanton was very imperious and overbearing in the court room. He was very much of a bully and was not liked by the opposing counsel. He put witnesses through fearful ordeals, and to sit under his examination without manifesting anger on the part of the witness was a difficult matter and displayed a rarity of patience only possessed by angels. It was Stanton's abuse of a witness that caused Roderick S. Moody to assault him in 1853. It was during the August term and occurred in the old court house yard. Stanton and Moody were then in their prime of manhood — Stanton about forty years of age and Moody four years his junior. Both were natives of Steubenville, both occupied the highest rank of the legal profession. A jury case of some importance was being tried in which they were opposing counsel. Stanton was examining a witness in his usual aggressive and abusive manner: Moody, who sat immediately in front of Stanton, had appealed to him a number of times in behalf of the witness, to desist in his overbearing, torturing manner. Stanton finally getting through with the witness, with an air of imperious triumph as a squelcher, with a deep guttural tone, said: "Moody, you always whine when I cross examine your witnesses."

Moody, who was the very opposite of Stanton — slender, fine-cut features, a marked blonde, and almost white, sensitive, with a voice musical as the harp, quickly turning upon Stanton, replied in a tone mocking Stanton:

"I don't know that a whine is worse than a bark," giving the peculiar bull-dog chop to the word bark.

Stanton, quick with his rejoinder, hissed through his teeth, with a sardonic grin:

"Puppies whine."

Moody said no more; the sparkle of his eyes and the swelling veins of his temples indicated a rising volcano, hot and furious. Court immediately adjourned for dinner and everybody in attendance hurried away. Moody was among the first to return, and he paced the court room like a caged panther, speaking to no one, but kept close watch through an open window looking toward Stanton & McCook's office, up Third street. Stanton and Col. Geo. W. McCook were partners. Soon Stanton, with his big cane in one hand, he being lame in one of his knees from an accident, a bundle of papers in the other hand, and spectacles on his eyes, he being nearsighted, in company with Col. McCook, came in view.

As soon as they struck the path crossing the east court house yard, as quick as thought Moody flung off his coat and rushed out of the building at the top of his speed. He sprung upon Stanton before either Stanton or McCook observed his presence;

down went Stanton, his cane, spectacles, and papers flying in all directions. The stalwart McCook snatched Moody away. Stanton scrambled to his feet, and grasping his cane, demanded of the bystanders who had come upon the scene to prevent further strife to let him alone, saying:

"Damn him; I will punish him for this assault."

McCook took Moody into the court room and the others Stanton. McCook kept up chiding Moody for attacking a lame man, and excitedly denounced the act as cowardly and mean. Moody as yet had said nothing, but this was more than he could bear from McCook, noble and generous always, and he pitched into McCook with the fury of a tiger, but the colonel easily threw him off, saying, "Damn your impudence. Would you dare fight me?" All was soon quieted. Court went on as if nothing had happened. All three, Stanton, McCook and Moody, became warmer friends than ever before, and so remained until they were parted by death. They have all passed off the stage, each having played as a star in the Drama of Life.[55]

XIV.

The First Courts and Mention of the Early Cases Tried — The First Murder Case that of William Carpenter who Killed Capt. White-Eyes — Copy of the Curious Indictment — White-Eyes not an Indian Chief, but the Son of Chief White-Eyes who Aided the American Cause and was a Colonel on the Staff of Gen. McIntosh — He is Killed by an American Soldier at Fort Laurens — The Victim of Carpenter a Student of Princeton College — Some of the Early Judges — W. W. Armstrong's Account of Judge Tappan — Curious Marriage Ceremony.

The ground on which the first court house was built, which included the site of the present building, was donated to Jefferson county by Bezaleel Wells, who also donated the land to the city upon which now stands the city building.

---

[55] This incident was related to the compiler by J. M. Rickey, Esq., who was Deputy Clerk and a witness of the scene. The story has been otherwise verified.

The first court held in the county of Jefferson in the territory northwest of the Ohio river, was held in Steubenville, in pursuance of proclamation of Winthrop Sargent, acting governor of the territory, and met in November of 1797. The judges on the bench were Philip Cable, John Moody and George Humphries. On the first day of the term John Rolf, James Wallace, and Solomon Sibley were admitted to the bar that in after years became the arena of the most noted lawyers and most prominent men in the affairs of the country — Benjamin Tappan, John C. Wright, John M. Goodenow, James and Daniel Collier, Gen. Samuel Stokely, Roswell Marsh, Ephraim Root, David Reddick, Nathaniel Dike, Jeremiah P. Fogg, J. H. Hallock, Humphrey H. Leavitt, Edwin M. Stanton, George W. McCook, Roderick S. Moody, Robert L. and Daniel McCook, T. L. Jewett, George P. Webster, Joseph and Thomas Means, all men of note during their lifetime and all making records that have kept their memories green.

This was the business of the first day, the court adjourning until the next day, Wednesday, at 8 o'clock, at which time the court again adjourned until 3 P. M., "to sit again in the house of Jacob Repsher." At this place it was "ordered that it be made a rule of the court that a private seal of the Prothonotary be recognized as the seal of the court until a public seal can be procured. It was also ordered on motion of Solomon Sibley, Esq., that the attorneys marked on writs, in behalf of the plaintiffs, returnable to this term, shall be answerable for the costs of suit." On Thursday the court made the following disposition of its first outside business, the records all being in the Jefferson county court house in Steubenville, the documents being interesting relics of the territorial period: "Ordered by the court that Absalom Martin, George Humphrey, Esquires, and Dunham Martin, be appointed as commissioners to make partition of a tract of land held in co-parcenary by Zenas Kimberly, Lucy Fulton and Phebe Maria Kimberly, at the mouth of Short creek, the affidavit required by law being first made by said Zenas Kimberly, in open court." The only other suit before the term was one of trespass brought against Benjamin Pegg and Arthur

Parker by Benjamin Robins. In the February term, 1798, the first jury empaneled in Jefferson county rendered a verdict against Parker and Pegg for twenty dollars. Another case was tried the same day in which the jury returned a verdict of fourteen dollars and six cents damages. It was ordered by the court, "on motion of Solomon Sibley, Esquire, that on every motion made in court which shall not be ruled by the court in favor of the motion, the attorney or person who made the motion shall pay to the court twenty-five cents."

At the August term, 1798, on Thursday, the 16th, appears the following court entry: Bezaleel Wells having offered to the court for their acceptance the lot or parcel of ground on which the court house is erected, lying at the northwest corner of Market and Third streets in Steubenville, ordered by the court that the said lot be accepted by the court for the use of Jefferson county to erect thereon a court house, gaol, pillory and all necessary buildings for the use of the county. "It was also ordered that John Ward and John Moody, Esquires, act as commissioners to contract for and superintend the repairing of the court house and gaol and making the same fit for public use." To this end the sum of forty dollars was appropriated by the court.

In 1798 David Vance appeared on the bench as associate justice and Thomas Fawcett at the August term in 1799, Wm. Wells in 1800, Jacob Martin and John Milligan in 1801, and this was the form of court until Ohio was admitted to the union as a state.[56] The first prosecuting attorney under the constitution of 1802 was Silas Paul, who appeared with staff in hand and his hair dressed in a cue. He lived on Willis creek just north of the town, and had been admitted to the bar in 1800. The salary was fixed at eighty dollars per year, with the stipulation that it be paid quarterly. He practiced for many years and died in 1857, many of his descendants still residing in the county.

Judge Pease, of Trumbull county, was the presiding judge in the Third District, of which Jefferson was a part, and Philip Cable and Jacob Martin were associate justices. Judge Pease was but twenty-seven years of age and even more youthful in appearance. While on the bench Judge Pease decided that the statute giving justices of the peace jurisdiction in cases where more than twenty dollars were claimed was unconstitutional and therefore null and void. There was immediate demand for his impeachment, and he was cited to appear before the State Senate as a court of impeachment, but the trial resulted in his acquittal. He continued in his office until the close of the December term of 1809, and was succeeded by Benjamin Ruggles, who first presided in 1810. Ruggles was succeeded by Judge Tappan in 1816.

---

[56] Rudolph Bair, George Humphrey, John Milligan, Nathan Updegraff and Bezaleel Wells represented Jefferson county in the first constitutional convention.

In a paper on Senator Tappan Hon. W. W. Armstrong, who knew him well, speaks of him in the highest terms. From this paper a few extracts will be of interest.

In April, 1796, Tappan went into the law office of Gideon Granger, a distinguished lawyer of Sheffield, Ct., and remained a laborious student for three years. Tappan, like Granger, was a Democrat. Then the Federalists wore the badge of the Black Cockade and they were the gentry, the "better class." They used to insult personally those who would not wear their emblem, particularly the young men. To resent this Tappan, and Mr. Granger's students, and other young Democrats carried hickory walking sticks, and "hickory canes" became the badge of the Democracy. Mr. Tappan being an aggressive young man, the Federal lawyers attempted to prevent his admission to the bar. They dared not attack his integrity or private character, and they were fearful of encountering popular odium by securing his rejection upon political grounds solely, so they concluded to charge him with sedition and blasphemy. To support their charge, the proof they offered was a sarcastic piece of poetry that Tappan wrote on the occasion of the proclamation of John Adams, dated May 23, 1798, which was considered by the Democrats as designed to excite a war between our country and France. The sixth verse of this poetry was as follows:

"Ye clergy, on this day
On politics discourse,
And when ye rise to pray
Both France and Frenchmen curse.

For you've a right
To pray and preach,
Exhort and teach
Mankind to fight."

The men who were friendly to the alien and sedition law of that day thought to ridicule the clergy was blasphemy. In the early struggles of the Democracy to resist Federal consolidation they had to encounter the opposition of the clergy, who thought it was necessary to overthrow the views and principles advocated by Thomas Jefferson, whom they denounced as an infidel and mocker of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth. Mr. Tappan had as a friend Mr. Brace, one of the reputable lawyers of Hartford, Ct., and despite the effort of Theodore Dwight, afterwards secretary of the Hartford Convention, now infamous in American history, secured his admission to the bar. Tappan's victory was a great one for the Democracy, for it stripped the cloak of piety from the sanctimonious hypocrites who were mixing politics with religion.

In 1800 several townships in Portage county were settled. That year two Indians and a child were shot by a couple of white men. To prevent the Indians from revenging this act the white men were arrested and tried for murder before a court held at Youngstown. The governor attended and sat with the judges during the trial. An Indian chief was also seated with the judges. It was the first jury trial in northern Ohio and Tappan was the attorney for the defendants. It was his first case and his first speech. An old contributor to "Political Portraits" says when Tappan arose to speak he was so much embarrassed that he was hardly able to speak. As he proceeded, however, he gained confidence, and made a very able defense, and succeeded in acquitting his client. The effort and the verdict gave him a great reputation with the bar, the court and the people.

When on the bench Judge Tappan always denied the constitutionality of the law creating the Bank of the United States and denounced President Madison for having approved the act of incorporation. The immense quantity of bills issued between 1816 and 1819 being thrown out at convenient points, irregularly, gave a new and wild impulse to traders and local banks. When pay day came the bills of the local banks which had accumulated at the branch bank in receipts "to the special credit of the United States" were returned in large quantities and specie demanded to meet the wants of the mother bank, but only three of the local bankers were able to endure the unnatural ordeal. Then came general bankruptcy. Industry was robbed of its hard earnings. The local bank paper depreciated into utter worthlessness. General ruin followed the suspension and breaking of the banks. At a Democratic state convention a resolution framed by Judge Tappan declaring the Bank of the United States was "inexpedient and unconstitutional and that the best interests of our common country required that it not be rechartered" was passed by acclamation and became a polar star of that subsequent contest in which the Democratic party rallied to the rescue under the "most remarkable man of the age," Andrew Jackson.

In 1833 Gen. Jackson appointed Mr. Tappan United States Judge for the district of Ohio. The duties of this position he ably filled, and so popular was he that the Democracy in 1839 elected him to the United States Senate and he served in that body until 1845, taking a conspicuous position in all its proceedings. He was a colleague of William Allen in that body. Tappan was waggish occasionally. Allen was noted for his great lung capacity and loud voice. One day a friend of his came into the Senate and asked if Judge Means of Ohio was still in the city. "No," said Tappan, "he left yesterday and is probably by this time in Cumberland, Md., but if you will go to Bill Allen and tell him to raise that window and call him he will come back."

Upon one occasion while Tappan was serving as President Judge, holding court in a dining room of a tavern, the proceedings of the court were interrupted by the boisterousness of one man. The judge asked who was making such a noise. A frontier man with a pair of old corduroy trousers and a red wammus on said: "It is the old hoss." Judge Tappan quietly remarked to the sheriff, "Take that old hoss and put him in the stable and keep him there on bread and water for three days," and the sheriff landed the brawler in the jail, which was a stable, and kept him there for seventy-two hours.

Senator Tappan, after retiring from the Senate, again returned to his profession, the law, and lived in Steubenville until his death, which occurred in 1857 in the eighty-fourth year of his age. His career as a pioneer, as a lawyer, as a judge and statesman, made his name a household word throughout the west.

As has been mentioned, many of the distillers who refused to "enter" their stills for the excise tax, came into Jefferson county, and one of these, John Kelly, appeared before the court on February 16, 1798, with a petition, praying the court to "examine testimony and make a statement of facts to the Secretary of the Treasury, concerning a forfeiture incurred by the said Kelly, under the excise statute." Whereupon, in the presence of Zenas Kimberly, collector of revenue, appeared the said Kelly, to examine into the facts on which the prayer of the petition was founded. It turned out that Kelly had removed two distilleries from Virginia to Jefferson county, in September, 1795, and in December one of them was used to distil eleven bushels of rye. The stills had not been duly entered, Kelly claiming that as he was an ignorant man, not able to read writing, he did not know with whom to make the entries. August 31, 1797, Collector Kimberly seized the distilleries in the woods where they had been hidden. The records do not state the report given the Secretary of the Treasury.

The first murder case before the court was that against William Carpenter, Jr., and William Carpenter, Sr., son and father, the two having been indicted on August 14, 1798, for killing an Indian in time of peace, the name of the victim being known as Captain White-Eyes. The Indian was shot by Carpenter, Jr., who was but seventeen years of age, near his home at West Point, now in Columbiana county. White-Eyes was intoxicated and ran at the boy with an uplifted tomahawk, giving the boy the impression that he was going to assault him. The boy ran, but the Indian pursued him, and gaining upon him so rapidly that young Carpenter felt that he was in real danger, turned and shot him. The boy was arrested, as was also his father, the latter being charged with aiding and abetting in the murder. The statement has frequently been published that the indictment was returned at a court of Quarter Sessions held at Steubenville, but there is no record of the case in Jefferson county, although there is no question as to the indictment. It is the belief that the case never came to trial, but was nollied. However, there is a tradition that the case was tried and that he was acquitted and that the affair created much apprehension, the settlers fearing the death of White-Eyes would give the Indians cause for war. Exertions were at once put into effect to reconcile the Indians in the neighborhood and many presents were given the friends of the deceased, his wife receiving three hundred dollars, one of the donors being Bazaleel Wells. The original draft of the indictment is in possession of the estate of Capt. W. A. Walden, late of Franklin county, a copy of which is appended as a historical relic:

INDICTMENT OF THE CARPENTERS FOR THE MURDER OF WHITE-EYES.

"JEFFERSON COUNTY, TO-WIT:"

{ "*Territory of the United States,*
Northwest of the River Ohio. }

"At a Court of General Quarter Sessions of the peace, at Steubenville in the said county of Jefferson on Tuesday the fourteenth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight. Before the Honorable David Vance, Esquire, and his associate justices of the peace in and for Jefferson county aforesaid.

"The Jurors for the Body of the Said County upon their oath present that Willian Carpenter, Junior, late of said County, Labourer, and Willian Carpenter, senior, late of said County, Labourer, not having the fear of God before their Eyes but being moved and Seduced by the instigation of the Devil on the twenty-seventh day of May — in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight with force and arms at the Township of ———, in the County aforesaid, feloniously, willfully, and of their malice, aforethought did make an assault upon one George White-Eyes, an Indian, Commonly known by the Name of Captain White-Eyes, in the peace of God and the United States aforesaid, then and there being and that the same

William Carpenter, Junior, a Certain Gun, of the Value of one Dollar then and there Charged and Loaded with Gun powder and Divers Leaden Shot or Bullets, which Gun the Said William Carpenter, Junior, in both his hands then and there had and held to, against and upon the said George White-Eyes, then and there feloniously, willfully and of his malice aforethought did Shoot and Discharge, and that the said, William Carpenter, Junior, with the Leaden Shot or Bullets aforesaid out of the Gun aforesaid then and there by force of the Gun powder, Shot, Discharged and Sent forth as aforesaid, the aforesaid William Carpenter, Junior, in and upon the Chin and under Jaw of him the said George White-Eyes, then and there with the Leaden Shot or Bullets aforesaid, out of the Gun aforesaid, by the Said William Carpenter, Junior, so as aforesaid shot, Discharged and Sent forth feloniously, willfully, and of his malice aforethought did Strike, penetrate and Wound, Going to the said George White-Eyes with the Leaden Shot or Bullets aforesaid so as aforesaid shot, Discharged and sent forth out of the Gun aforesaid by the said William Carpenter, Junior, in and upon the Chin and under Jaw of him the said George White-Eyes one Mortal wound of the depth of Eight Inches and of the Breadth of one Inch of Which said mortal wound the said George White-Eyes then and there instantly died. And that the said William Carpenter, senior, then and there feloniously, Willfully and of his malice aforethought was present aiding, helping, abetting, Comforting, assisting and maintaining the said William Carpenter, Junior, the felony and murder aforesaid in manner and form aforesaid to do and Commit: and so the Jurors upon their oath aforesaid do Say, that the said William Carpenter, Junior, feloniously, Willfully and of his malice aforethought and the said William Carpenter, senior, feloniously, willfully, and of his malice aforethought him the said George White-Eyes then and there in manner and form aforesaid did Kill and murder, against the peace and Dignity of the United States &c."

"(Signed) ——

"JAMES WALLACE,

"*Att'y for the United States in Jefferson County.*"

Capt. White-Eyes was not a chief as has been the belief, but the dissipated son of a chief, his father being White-Eyes, a chief in the nation of Delaware Indians. He was one of the few Indians who refused to join the British in the Revolutionary war, remaining steadfast with the patriots and their cause, which position was largely due to the efforts of Rev. David Jones, who had considerable influence with the Indians. But it is said that White-Eyes was almost caught in Capt. Connelly's net after the Dunmore treachery. Connelly had offered him many inducements to engage his people in an assault upon the frontier settlers, but he refused absolutely, for his sympathies were with the Americans. During 1776 he made a visit to Philadelphia and was presented to the Continental Congress with much ceremony, his reception being most cordial. At times it was very difficult for him to hold his tribe, for Simon Girty did all he could to inflame them at their villages on the Muskingum, telling them that the Americans were preparing to burn their wigwams and murder their women and children. Many of the Young Delawares caught the war spirit as they listened to the horrible stories against the Americans as told by Capt. Pipe and Capt. Girty. At a council held at Coshocton, the Delawares had about concluded to go to war, but at the urgent request of White-Eyes, a delay was agreed upon in order to give time to ascertain whether the renegades had told the truth as to American intentions. A messenger dispatched to Fort Pitt soon returned with denial of the reports. But the young men of the tribe could not long be controlled and joined Girty's British command. White-Eyes himself remained true to the American cause, even going so far as to leave his own people to join the American army, which he did with a few warriors who were attached to him. He was made a colonel on the staff of Gen. McIntosh, and was with the forces when Fort McIntosh and Fort Laurens were built. While at Fort Laurens, on November 10, 1778, he was treacherously killed by an American soldier, which fact was concealed from his relatives, it being announced that he had died of smallpox. Col. George Morgan, Indian agent at Pittsburg, educated the son at Princeton. The young man came into considerable property as the legatee of his father's estate, but he was a degenerate and soon squandered his means in debauchery, meeting his death in the county wherein his father was killed, as noted in this chapter. White-Eyes' was the last Indian blood shed in eastern Ohio. There is a tradition that he knew of a lead mine, near West Point, in Madison township, Columbiana county, and that the location was lost in his death, but many attempts have since been made to find it.

On August 8, 1803, the court granted tavern licences to various persons in Steubenville and the several townships, the former license being ten dollars and the latter six dollars. On the same day Rev. James Snodgrass, a Presbyterian minister, who had charge of the Steubenville and Island creek churches, was granted license to solemnize marriages. The next year Rev. Enoch Martin, of the Baptist church, Rev. Lyman Potter, of the Presbyterian, Rev. Jacob Colbart, of the Methodist, and Rev. Alexander Colderhead, of the Associate Reformed church, were licensed to solemnize marriages.

On April 2, 1805, Timothy Hart, who had been in jail on the charge of insolvency, appeared before the court and complained that he did not have means with which to support himself in jail, and was allowed to take advantage of "an act providing for the relief of indigent persons imprisoned for debt" and taking the oath thereon he was discharged from further confinement.[57]

Philip Cable who was a judge of the Territorial Court, and afterwards a justice of the peace, was somewhat eccentric, but nevertheless a very popular man, so popular in fact that he officiated at most of the marriages. He had such an extensive practice along this line of his profession, that he adopted a short service so that waiting couples would not be delayed by much ceremony. The service usually ended with the words: "Give me a dollar, kiss your bride, and go about your business." Having no one present on one occasion he called in his wife and colored servant, saying, "In the presence of my wife, Dolly, and Black Harry, I pronounce you man and wife — give me my dollar."

---

[57] Judge William Johnson, late of Cincinnati, but then of Jefferson county, and a member of the bar, in later years having occasion to administer the same oath to Bezaleel Wells under the old insolvent act and who was in prison for debt, became so incensed thereby that he determined to go to the Legislature and secure its repeal. This he afterwards accomplished.—O. M. Sanford.

XV.

Early Manufacturing — Salt Boiling the First Industry, Distilling Whisky the Second — The First Broadcloth Made in the United States Manufactured in Steubenville — The First Figured Silk and the First Silk Velvet Manufactured at Mt. Pleasant — The War of 1812 Gives Impetus to Manufacturing — The Beginning of the Woolen and Wool Industry — The Wells-Dickenson Sheep.

Hotels and business houses were built immediately after the town was laid out, a portion of the old United States hotel now in existence having been erected by John Ward, who held various county and town offices, as well as dispensed entertainment for man and beast, in 1800. The first merchant was Hans Wilson, the second Samuel Hunter. As soon as the farmers had produced a crop of corn or rye, which was previous to the founding of Steubenville, distilleries became numerous and were located in all the settlements, for it was by this means that the grain was reduced to its smallest bulk, and the product could be disposed of for cash, in fact being the main cash factor in the primitive stage of the West. For this reason the people of the West objected to paying the excise tax, for by this means taxation for the support of the Federal Government was unequally borne.

The first distillery established in Steubenville was by P. Snyder, from Uniontown, Pa., in 1798. He was soon followed by many others, but to-day there is not a distillery within the county, although before the war between the states distilleries were very numerous. Malt liquors were manufactured at a very early period in Mount Pleasant township. This was probably before the Quakers became the controlling moral factor of population. The manufacture of nails by hand was carried on in Steubenville by Andrew and Robert Thompson from 1803 to

1811, William Kilgore and Hugh Sterling being employes, all prominent citizens in after years. From the court records of the August term of common pleas of 1808, it appears that machines were in existence for cutting nails, at this time a case being on trial in which Joshua Kelly, who had been committed by Justice Robert McCleary, of Warren township, was charged with stealing a "part of a machine for cutting nails." However he was discharged, the commitment being adjudged "illegal and highly improper." William Kilgore afterwards built what is now the Jefferson iron works, which before the introduction of the wire nail, was one of the largest industries in the Ohio valley.

It is safe to presume that the first industrial enterprise in Jefferson county was salt boiling, salt springs having been discovered on Yellow creek near the site of Irondale by Joshua Downard and John Hutton before the beginning of the present century. This led to the erection of crude furnaces for the production of perhaps the most important article and yet the most difficult to procure, necessary to the wants of the pioneer. As early as 1802 Henry Daniels had a small furnace erected for boiling salt in Ross township. He sunk a hollow sycamore log in an upright position at the spring and from this reservoir the salt water was dipped into the kettles and boiled, producing about three bushels of salt a day. So great was the demand that Isaac Shane, who went there for salt in 1803, found the place thronged with customers and he was obliged to return without his portion.

William Maple came to Ohio on June 15, 1797, landing on the Ohio shore at a point between Elliotsville and Empire. He emigrated from Fayette county, Pennsylvania, where he resided only a short time, coming there from Trenton, New Jersey, where he lived at the time of the Revolution and at which place he enlisted in the American army. After coming to Ohio he settled on the hill above Port Homer. Benjamin Maple, son of William, bored one of the first salt wells in the northern part of the county, on Hollow Rock run, the boring being done by spring pole, after which he started to build a mill, but sold it unfinished and then bought produce which he took down the river on a keel boat and traded for furs, which were brought back on mules and transported over the mountains in the same way, salt being packed on the return trip.

The first grist and saw mill was erected within the city limits by Bezaleel Wells, but shortly after a grist mill was built on Cross creek, known by the early settlers as Indian Cross creek, but called by the Indians "Mingominnie." The name Cross creek, it is said was given the stream by settlers because they thought the creek crossed the river and ran out through a creek on the other side, but really it should not be thought that the fathers were quite so ignorant as this charge would declare them. This mill did a profitable business as early as 1808, the product being shipped by keel-boat to New Orleans. The mill was purchased by George Marshall, a millwright from Ireland, who about 1818 dismantled the flour mill and put in machinery of his own manufacture and produced a superior article of woolen goods. There were six or more grist mills on Short creek as early as 1805. The first bank was established in Steubenville in 1809, Bezaleel Wells and W. R. Dickenson being the proprietors and Alexander McDowell the cashier. In his journal of date September, 1814, J. B. Finley, the pioneer Methodist minister, makes this note: "During this year a money mania like an epidemic, seized the people. There were seven banking establishments in Jefferson county, one of them said to have been kept in a ladies' chest. All these were engaged in issuing paper money. But it did not stop here—merchants, tavern keepers, butchers and bakers became bankers. This mania was followed by the mania for new towns, which were laid out at almost every cross-roads. The imaginary riches of the speculators soon fled, business was paralyzed and discontent prevailed everywhere."

While there were efforts made to give the city impetus by manufacturing, little progress was made before the war of 1812, but after hostilities had closed the employment given labor by the introduction of woolen factories soon filled the town with industrious, thrifty people.

June 18, 1812, the United States declared war against England. England and all the other European powers were at that time at war with each other; war vessels were on ocean and sea picking up merchant vessels and confiscating their cargoes. Importation to the United States was limited; our country became in great need of manufactured articles, especially woolen and cotton goods; the people west of the mountains being almost destitute. Four patriotic men, Bezaleel Wells and Samuel Patterson, of Steubenville, and James Ross and Henry Baldwin, of Pittsburg, formed a partnership for manufacturing woolen goods. They selected the southwest quarter of outlot No. 15 on West Market street in the city of Steubenville, whereon to erect buildings to carry out their enterprise. John Hart built the basement story, Harrington and Warfield the brick work, and Nicholas Murray, who erected the second court house and other buildings in the town, including the Steubenville Gazette building, the first three-story house in Steubenville, and who also raised a company of which he was captain for the war of 1812, the carpentry. When completed the main building was one hundred and ten feet long, twenty-eight feet wide and three stories high, with high roof belfry cupola, with spire surmounted with ball and golden sheep. The building was completed in the fall of 1814. Early in the spring of 1815 the steam engine was brought from Pittsburg under the supervision of Mr. Latrobe and placed in position. The boiler was tea kettle shape and stood on end; the bottom was concaved for fire-bed; the cylinders, two in number, stood on end with shackle bars, walking beams and rotary valve. April 10, 1815, the machinery was started. The same day Samuel Patterson, one of the owners, died. Christopher H. Orth was employed as manager with a stipulated salary and one-fifth of the profits, under the firm name of C. H. Orth & Co. Stibbin Johnson and Adam Wise, two skilled mechanics in iron and wood, built the machinery. The carding machine was twenty-four-inch cylinder for making rolls and forty-inch spindle for drawing the rolls into slubbing for the spinners. The spinning machines, called jennies, were three in number, one of forty spindles and two of sixty spindles. Wm. Fisher and Alfred Cooper ran the billy and Enos Lucas, George and Peter Dohrman learned to spin, first, by drawing one thread at a time, so that in a short time they were able to fill all the spindles. By this time two broadcloth looms were built.

John Arthurs and Robert Semple, hand loom weavers, took charge of the looms and were the first men to weave broadcloth in this country. It was amusing to see a common laborer learning to weave. To time his feet with his hands he had two big treadles marked hayfoot and strawfoot. To raise the shade for the shuttle to pass through, he would say up comes sugar down goes gad.[58]

At one time there were as many as twelve woolen and cotton mills in Steubenville, and the city became famous for the manufacture of textile fabrics, but since 1877 not a yard of cloth of any kind has been made in the city. The woolen industry of Jefferson county, for all the factories were not located within the bounds of the city, was the beginning of the establishment of the great wool-growing industry of Ohio, Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, the finest wool in the world being produced within a radius of forty miles of the scene of the greatest activity in the manufacture of woolen goods in the state or in the west. From a history of the wool-growing industry written by John J. Ickis for The Steubenville Gazette, it is learned that the first sheep in the state came from Connecticut, New Jersey and Virginia. Like their owners they were a rugged lot, capable of enduring the privations of frontier life. When the settler had cleared away the virgin forest, they gave their assistance in keeping in check the new forest with which nature would gladly have covered the ground. The wool of these sheep was woven in the homes into durable goods that would be passed over by the farmer to-day for something that was half shoddy.[59]

William R. Dickenson seems to have been the first to bring the improved breeds of sheep to Jefferson county. He was born in Virginia in 1779 and came to Steubenville in 1807. About 1812 he laid the foundation of a flock of pure Merino sheep by purchases from the flock of James Caldwell of New Jersey. Spain had jealously guarded its Merino flocks for centuries and would allow no exports to be made. When Napoleon's armies came down to meet those of Wellington, her precious cabanas were destroyed forever. Thousands of the best sheep of Spain were killed to feed the soldiery. There are no sadder pages in the industrial history of any country than those that chronicle this wanton destruction of the flocks of Spain. Yet good was to come of this to our own country, for many of their best sheep were secured by Jarvis and other Americans and brought over by the ship load; one hundred and sixty-eight vessels landed seventeen thousand six hundred and ninety-three sheep from Spain between September 1, 1810, and August 30, 1811. The sheep bought by Mr. Dickenson and brought to Steubenville were from the best of these importations. By 1825 his flock numbered two thousand five hundred, and they were the equal of any sheep in the United States. Ten of his rams shorn in June, 1825, produced seventy-five pounds of wool which sold for eighty cents a pound, or six dollars a head.

---

[58] These data are from a paper read by E. G. McFeeley before the Wells Historical Society. [59] The first shoddy goods in America were made in Steubenville, the machinery having been brought from England.

The products of the Wells-Dickenson woolen factory became so famous in the eastern markets, that wools were brought from over the mountains to be manufactured into broadcloth that was thought to be equal to any that could be imported. To furnish a partial supply of wool for this factory, in 1815 Mr. Wells laid the foundation of a flock of Merinos by purchase from Col. Jarvis, the greatest importer of his time. By 1824 his flock had increased to three thousand five hundred sheep. To keep up something of the migratory habits of their ancestors, a large tract of land was purchased between where Canton and Massillon now stand, and the flock driven to those pastures and back each year. Thus it was that Jefferson county, in the early part of the century, contained two of the most noted flocks of pure Spanish Merinos in America. Those who saw them say they made a beautiful appearance, with their even fleeces and dense, dark tops. They shore an average of five pounds of washed wool, with an evenness of fibre that is found only on the pure Merino. It is doubted if any other county in America could ever boast of two flocks of five thousand five hundred sheep of this royal blood. By interchanging the rams, these flocks soon became almost identical, and were the original Wells and Dickenson sheep,—a name that is known by sheepmen the world around.

To prove the excellence of these flocks it is only necessary to recall the victory gained by Mr. Dickenson's ram Boliver. The Brazilian minister to this country offered as a prize a silver cup for the ram that would shear the greatest weight of picklock wool. Believing that his sheep were as good as any in the country, Mr. Dickenson selected his ram Boliver and took him to Baltimore. The contest took place in that city on June 1, 1826, and was won by Boliver, although he had to compete with the best sheep of the Atlantic states, both native and imported. This sheep was brought back over the mountains in a wagon and was one of the principal attractions, as we may well believe, in the parade of the following Fourth of July. Owing to financial difficulties with the government, these flocks were sold at public auction in Steubenville in 1830. One thousand two hundred ewes and wethers of the first and second quality brought $3.16 per head; five ewes and five rams of the top of the flock brought an average of $22.50 per head. Buyers attended the sale from all parts of Ohio, Pennsylvania and western Virginia, and in this way the Wells and Dickenson sheep were scattered to improve Ohio wool; for Ohio wool is grown on the hillsides of Pennsylvania and West Virginia as well as on our own pastures. Specimens of this wool, known as the Crosskey "clips", have taken medals at several world expositions.

While Steubenville is distinguished as the first place in the United States where broadcloth was made, Mount Pleasant has the distinction of being the first producer of silk velvet and figured silk, a silk factory having been erected in that village by John W. Gill and Thomas White, in 1841. At that time the silk-worm craze was abroad in the land and much vacant space was planted with mulberry trees, William Watkins, the builder of the McCook mansion in Steubenville, having come to Jefferson county for the purpose of engaging in the culture of the morus multicaulis, this product being used in the Gill factory. Messrs. Gill and White planted twenty-five acres in mulberry trees and as soon as the trees had attained a year's growth they began the cultivation of the silk worm, followed by the manufacture of beautiful fabrics, specimens of which are now in existence and were on exhibition in the Log Cabin Loan during the celebration of the centennial of Jefferson county. The products of the factory were silk velvet, hat plush, dress silks of the most beautiful colors and designs, ribbons, figured silks, etc. The loom used was known as the "draw-boy loom" and was three yards long and one yard wide, there being in the factory separate looms for ribbons, hat plush and velvet. The first pattern woven was known as the Buckeye burr, the color being a light buff. From this piece of silk a vest pattern was presented to Henry Clay, who also wore a suit of broadcloth made in one of the Steubenville factories. The Whig presidential ticket, voted in Mount Pleasant in 1844, was printed on silk, made for the purpose in the Gill factory. The first American flag ever in China was also made at this factory and carried to the Orient by Caleb Cushing.

The Navigator, published in Pittsburg in 1818, gives the industries in Steubenville in 1817 as follows: "One woolen factory, worked by steam power, in which are manufactured on an extensive scale cloths of the finest texture and of the most brilliant and lasting colors; one iron foundry, in which casting of all kinds is performed; one paper mill, of three vats, in which steam power is used; one brewery, in which is manufactured beer, ale, and porter of the first quality; one steam flour mill, which is kept in continued and profitable operation; one steam cotton factory, in which cloths of an excellent quality are made; one nail manufactory; two earthenware factories; one tobacco and cigar factory; one wool carding machine; four preachers; six lawyers; five physicians; twenty-seven stores; sixteen taverns; two banks; one printing office; one book bindery; two gunsmiths; one coppersmith; two tinner's shops; thirty-two carpenters; six bricklayers; five masons; five plasterers; four cabinet makers; six blacksmiths; five tailors; four saddlers; three bakers; eight shoe and bootmakers; three wheelwrights; four chair makers; three hatters; three clock and watchmakers; one silversmith; three tanneries; seven schools, three of which are for young ladies; one reed maker; three wagon makers;

four coopers, and six butchers. Many other professions are followed which are too tedious to mention. Public Offices. — Register U. S. Land Office. Receiver U. S. Land Office. Collector U. S. Revenue. Collector of non-resident tax for the fifth district. Clerk's Office Supreme Court and Court of Common Pleas. County Commissioners' Office, and Office of Recorder of Deeds.

"There are several valuable grist mills near Steubenville which send a great deal of flour to New Orleans. The town has a post-office receiving and discharging the public mail weekly. The fuel used is mineral coal and wood."

"The Western Pilot, etc.," by Samuel Cummings, published in Cincinnati, in 1836, article, Steubenville, mentions, * * * "There are in the town and neighborhood, three merchant flour mills; a very large and justly celebrated woolen factory at which sixty thousand pounds of wool are annually manufactured into cloth. Large flocks of sheep, of the Merino breed, are owned by the neighboring farmers and by the proprietors of the establishment, which has several times obtained the premium for the best specimens of cloth manufactured in the United States. There are besides two cotton factories of three thousand spindles; a large paper mill, belonging to Mr. Holdship, of Pittsburg, which manufactures the finest and best paper made in the western country; three air foundries; a steam paper mill, besides a flouring mill and cotton factory likewise driven by steam power. Here is also a printing office, from which is published a weekly newspaper; an academy; two banks; twenty-seven mercantile stores; sixteen public inns; an air foundry; beside a great number and variety of the most useful mechanics."

XVI.

Pioneer Means of Transportation — The Old Keel-boat — The First Line of Keel-boats Between Cincinnati and Pittsburg — The Boats Carried Arms and Passengers were Protected by Walls for Defense — The First Steamboats — A Line of Sailing Vessels Built for the West India Trade and Sail Down the Ohio — The First Stage Coaches — Beginning of the Panhandle Railroad.

The difficulties of transportation prevented rapid advancement of pioneer settlements, but the large river frontage of Jefferson county gave the pathfinders much better facilities for transit than that enjoyed by settlers in the interior. The river was much to the early merchant and manufacturer. Still with this great waterway and the aptitude for boating possessed by most of the pioneers, progress along industrial lines was very slow. Such machinery, crude as it was in the early days of the West, had to be hauled from the East at an expense so great that one is startled at the figures when mentioned in the present days of rapid transit. The cost of carriage on a bill of goods was often greater than the cost of the goods; and this fact, too, had much to do with inspiring the fathers with the spirit of enterprise that in the first and second decades of the century gave Steubenville a high place as a manufacturing town.

The keel-boats or barges were roughly constructed and varied from seventy-five to one hundred feet in length, with breadth of beam of from fifteen to twenty feet. They would carry from sixty to one hundred tons weight, the receptacle for freight occupying the greater portion of the craft, although on one end a sort of a cabin was constructed for female passengers. The boat usually carried a sail, but when the wind was lacking in power the craft was propelled by means of a pole, and at times the boat would be towed by the boatmen who would walk along the shore and haul the vessel with a rope.

The first regular packet line between Pittsburg and Cincinnati was established in 1794. The Sentinel of the Northwest, the first paper published in the territory, William Maxwell being the editor, contained the time-card of the line. "Two boats for the present," the announcement says, "will start from Cincinnati to Pittsburg and return to Cincinnati in the following manner: The first boat will leave Cincinnati this morning at eight o'clock and return to Cincinnati to be ready to sail again in four weeks from this date. The second boat will leave Cincinnati on Saturday, the 30th inst., and return as above." The announcement further stated "that being influenced by a love of philanthropy, and a desire of being serviceable to the public, the proprietors have taken great pains to render the accomodations on board as agreeable and convenient as they could possibly be made." Further on the advertisement states that "no danger need be apprehended from the enemy, and every person on board will be under cover made proof to rifle ball, and convenient portholes for firing out. Each boat is armed with six pieces carrying a pound ball, also a good number of muskets." A separate cabin from that designed for the men was partitioned off for the ladies. Passengers were supplied with provisions and liquors of all kinds at the most reasonable rates. It was stated that an insurance office had been established at Cincinnati, Limestone and Pittsburg, where persons desiring to insure their property while en route could apply.

In 1794, a Frenchman, named Louis Anastasius Tarascon, who had previously sent an engineer down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans to ascertain if the project be feasible, built at Pittsburg in 1801, a schooner called "Amity", of one hundred and twenty tons, a full-fledged, sea-worthy vessel, followed by other schooners and brigs of much greater tonnage, and opened trade with the West Indies, shipping flour and other provisions. One of the boats, or ships, the "Western Trader", had capacity for four hundred tons.

The first steamboat which descended the Ohio river was the New Orleans, a vessel of four hundred tons, built at Pittsburg, under direction of Robert Fulton, in 1811, the cost exceeding fifty thousand dollars. In October of that year this boat started on its way to New Orleans. As might be conjectured it did a profitable business, but it was destroyed by running against a snag in 1814, at Baton Rouge. Other boats were built, and in 1814, the Enterprise was built at Redstone, now

Brownsville, Pa., and chartered by the government to carry military stores to New Orleans, arriving there in time to take part in the battle, January 8th, the next year. The "Enterprise" was a small stern wheel boat and was commanded by Capt. Shrieve. Up to this time no steamboat had attempted to run up the Ohio, but during the month of June, 1815, the Enterprise arrived at Steubenville, and the whole population was astounded, and could hardly believe that a steamboat had come up stream all the way from New Orleans. The first boat built in Steubenville was the "Bezaleel Wells", which was made in 1820; Arthur M. Phillips, who was the first machinist west of the Ohio, built the boilers. President McKinley's father at one time was employed in the Phillips foundry, which is one of the very few industries of pioneer times still in operation in Steubenville, the plant being a part of that of James Means & Co. Steubenville has gone through all the vicissitudes of industry; while at one time the manufacture of woolen fabrics filled the region with the hum and whir of the spindle and the loom, there is not now a yard of textile fabric of any kind made within the county; the iron industry, too, was for years the great factor of industrial progress; followed by the manufacture of clay products, which to-day gives employment to more people than does the manufacture of iron and glass. However there has latterly been a revival of iron and steel, and Mingo Bottom, for years the rendezvous of the American soldier as well as of the savage warrior, is partly covered with steel industries. Twenty years ago coal mining and coke making was one of the largest industries in Steubenville; to-day very little coal is mined and no coke is made. However, large mines have been opened on Short creek and much coal is produced. Many of the pioneer industries went down never more to rise. They came upon the stage to act their part in the drama of Progress; this done they passed off and the curtain was drawn only to rise again on another scene of industry, which, too, was changed, but this is the history of other communities. All have their industrial mutations.

Roads were opened previous to 1816, and during 1818 Matthew Roberts carried the first mail to Pittsburg on horseback, the previous mails all being conveyed by boat. In 1820 John McMillen established the first stage line between the two towns. This was soon followed by stage lines in all directions and companies were organized for making plank roads, many of which were partly constructed throughout Eastern Ohio, some being graded, while others were partly laid with planks. In 1848 the Steubenville and Indiana Railroad Company was incorporated, the incorporators being James Wilson, James Means, Nathaniel Dike, William McDonald, Daniel Collier, John Orr, John Andrews, David McGowan, James Gallagher, James Turnbull, James McKinney, Rosswell P. Marsh and Alexander Doyle. James Parks, A. L. Frazier and others at once took an active part in the project and Daniel Kilgore of Cadiz was elected the first president. All but three of these men were of Scotch-Irish blood; Dike, Marsh and Collier were from New England and were probably of English descent, but not of Puritan blood. Col. Geo. W. McCook, soldier, lawyer, politician, and withal a gentleman, was a powerful factor in the construction of this railroad, he having negotiated the sale of bonds in Europe. It is a fact that the whole Pennsylvania system of railroads is an achievement of Scotch-Irish enterprise and genius. This, the most powerful railroad corporation in the world, was brought from its inception through its course to its present magnificent development by the skilled efforts of Col. Thomas A. Scott, William Thaw, James McCrea, Robert Pitcairn, the late President Roberts and J. N. McCullough, the latter coming from a strong and early Scotch settlement on Yellow creek, which settlement has sent out into the field of letters, the arena of politics and into the industrial world some of the brightest men who have become prominent in many lines demanding strong elements of character.

The first sod turned in the construction of the railroad, which was the beginning of the great Panhandle, was by Rosswell P. Marsh, a lawyer who came to Steubenville from Vermont. The people along the proposed lines were so ignorant of the character of railroads that it is said that James Parks secured the right of way by meeting the objections of landowners with the statement, that as the line would be built in the air, there could be no reason why the land could not be utilized for farming just as well as without the railroad track. The first engines used as the motive power on this line were named "Bezaleel Wells," "James Ross," and "Steubenville," and were run into Steubenville October 8, 1853, drawing two cars. The river division of the Cleveland and Pittsburg railroad was built the year following, becoming a portion of the Ft. Wayne division, that was brought to a perfect stage by the master mind of McCullough.

XVII.

Early Educational Facilities — The Schoolhouse Soon Followed the Church — The Old Log College Sent out Teachers as well as Ministers — The Irish Schoolmaster Early Abroad in the Land — The Old Log Schoolhouse Made Famous by Dr. Alexander Clark — The First Female Seminary West of the Mountains Established in Steubenville — The Part Jefferson County Took in Formulating the Public School System — Noted Teachers from Jefferson County.

The pioneer fathers who settled the upper Ohio valley appreciated facility for education. From their point of view education was no less a spiritual element in character-building than religion. It was as essential to the enjoyment of life as were the means of grace, and the schoolhouse was invariably under way before the church was roofed.

From the Old Log College of the Tennants sturdy young men went forth south and west carrying with them the fountain of learning, that others might drink of knowledge. These young men were classical scholars, filled with the zeal they had caught from the inspiring presence of the sainted master at whose feet they sat to receive instruction given with that love of the cause that comes of unselfish enthusiasm. There were giants in those days — mental giants, too, and the Tennants were of them. Wherever Tennant's pupils, or rather scholars, located, there, too, was located an academy — another log college — wherein were taught other young men, who were not only fitted for the ministry, but for any of the learned professions.

The Cumberland and Virginia valleys were well filled with schools before the fathers moved over the mountains and into the wilderness. Did these people have to await the coming of the New England schoolmaster? Their own schoolmaster was invariably with them, for the minister came with the flock, and as in the case of Dr. John McMillen, of the Cannonsburg college, the minister taught as well as preached, and fitted his successor when he should die; for in those days the minister staid with his people until death dissolved the relation. Coming, as they did, from such an environment, it is unnecessary to note that they were not depending on the Yankee schoolmaster, as is the widespread belief in New England even to this day.

The "Irish schoolmaster" was abroad in the land, too, and the annals of Ohio are filled with incidents of this worthy man of letters, who had a standing in the community next to that of the minister himself, who was always held in the highest reverence, not only because he was the spiritual adviser, but as well because of his great learning. The father of Dr. Jeffers, of the Western Theological Seminary, was one of the early itinerant school teachers in Eastern Ohio, and how often was he worn out by what he called the perverseness of his pupils when it was really his own pertinacity that was in the way of mutual understanding. His eccentricity of pronunciation invariably stumped the pupil, for he would not know whether the word given out to be spelled was "beet" or "bait," whether "floor" or "fleur," but Jeffers would explain that "bait" was a "red root," and "fleur" was a "boord" to walk on; and through the influence of the good man's erudition and hickory gad, the sons and daughters of the settlers waxed strong in knowledge.

Two years after Jefferson county was organized a log schoolhouse was built on what is now section twenty, Colerain township, Belmont county, near Mt. Pleasant, and as the settlement was very spare, the pupils had long distances to go before reaching this, the first institution of learning erected within the bounds of the original Jefferson county. The pupils, too, were in constant danger of their lives, there being Indians as well as wild beasts in the wilderness where it was located. It was near the site of this schoolhouse that Captain Williams, one of the brave defenders of Fort Henry during the siege of 1777, was killed by the Delaware Indians in 1780.

The next school house of which there is record was built in 1802 near St. Clairsville. Of course, it was constructed of logs, with a solitary greased paper window, with seats of trees split in two placed on pegs with the flat side up, and such a distance from the floor, says the record from which this information is obtained, that the teacher was never annoyed by shuffling of feet. School was taught in this rude structure for three years, when the town and country pupils divided into two factions, the country pupils accusing the master with being partial in his favors, and during the night season the building was demolished by a mob. Another building of a better style of architecture was erected in 1803, but on another site.

There is a tradition that a schoolhouse was erected in Cross Creek township previous to 1800, there having been a number of families in the township as early as 1797, but the records show that a schoolhouse had been erected and school was held in it in 1804 by an Irish schoolmaster named Green. In 1809 a subscription school was taught in that part of the township known as the Long settlement, a Mr. Morrow, a Scotchman, being the first teacher. In 1805 Richard McCullough also taught school in this township.

There was also a schoolhouse at a very early date on Battle run in Steubenville township, near the scene of the Buskirk battle, and which is not far from the Cross creek falls, within a hundred yards of which have happened several of the most disastrous accidents on the Panhandle railroad.

In 1814 Samuel Clark, the father of the late Rev. Dr. Alexander Clark, of blessed memory, taught a school in Brush Creek township. In 1830, in the same township, was built "The Old Log Schoolhouse," immortalized by Dr. Clark, the divine, poet and prose author, whose works are part of the country's best literature. Here he was educated and reared amidst the scenes of rugged nature from which he took his themes, and the world of readers rejoiced that such a sweet-souled man lived to tell them of the beauty he saw in nature. Dr. Clark was an educator of wonderful force and his goodness of heart and sweetness of temper gave him an influence over the pupil that was truly an inspiration, and to be even in his presence and hear him speak was like a benediction. And he was an "Irish schoolmaster." Dr. Clark was the founder of the "School-day Visitor," the first distinctive child's paper published in the United States, and it afterwards became The St. Nicholas Magazine. He was a prominent minister of the Protestant Methodist Church and at the time of his death was the editor of the organ of that church published in Pittsburg. The old log schoolhouse upon which he founded his story of this name was taught for years by his father, who was succeeded by the son. The building was used for school purposes for almost half a century. It was erected in a day and cost but thirty-two dollars.

Undoubtedly there were educational facilities in the village of Steubenville previous to 1805, but the records show that a school was taught in 1806 by a Mr. Black, another Irish schoolmaster. In 1807 Bezaleel Wells erected a building (frame) near the site of the Steubenville seminary, and painting it red, it was ever after known as the Little Red Schoolhouse. The first teacher was James Thompson, who was succeeded by Thomas Fulton, and Fulton by Jacob Hull. The two latter were eccentric, viewed from the standpoint that one now looks upon a tutor who is supposed to be a moral example to his pupils. Both Fulton and Hull had a fondness for intoxicants that to-day could not be reconciled with the high positions held by them. Their indulgence frequently led to napping, when they would awaken to find their slippers removed, or hats decorated with quill-pen feathers thrust through the bands. It is handed down that on occasions they would go to sleep with their heads resting on the desk, and on awakening find a pile of books covering the seat of learning, but for the moment befuddled with liquor. The books used prior to 1812 were, as a rule, such as the schoolmaster could furnish himself, but after this period, the Second War for Independence having caused an awakening in the west, the English Reader, the United States Speller, and the Introduction were introduced, and other schools followed the Little Red Schoolhouse. Miss Sheldon opened a school on High street, the Misses Graham and Burgess on Fourth street, and as early as 1816 an Irish schoolmaster named Baker opened a school at the head of Washington street, which was well patronized, but the historian says his employment of the hickory gad as a factor of education was so far beyond reason that he was frequently a subject for discipline himself. He continued to teach for ten years, when his spirit took its flight and the body was followed to the tomb by a large concourse of people. In 1818 Bezaleel Wells was the main subscriber to a fund for the erection of an academy on High street, which school was well patronized. Prof. J. P. Miller, a Seceder minister, had charge. The academy was conducted for many years and for a while was used by the Episcopalians as a church. Rev. Dr. George Buchanan, a native of the Cumberland valley, and a pupil of the eminent educator, Dr. Alexander Dobbins, whose pupils became noted as teachers, established the first classical school in the west on Market street in Steubenville in 1814. Here all the higher branches were taught for many years and the pupils became eminent in many of the states, giving testimony of the high character of the school, among the pupils being Edwin M. Stanton. Samuel Ackerly conducted a private school not far from the Buchanan academy in 1820, and afterward Dr. John Scott erected an academy on North Seventh street and for years conducted a successful school up to the fifties, the building afterward becoming a part of the public school system of the city.

The first distinctive female seminary west of the mountains was established in Steubenville by Rev. Dr. C. C. Beatty, a pupil of the Old Log College, of which mention has been made, in 1829, and which was most successfully conducted by him for more than half a century, followed by Rev. Dr. A. M. Reid, who had charge until a few years ago. This seminary was an excellent school and pupils came from far and near to sit at the feet of Mrs. Beatty, who was loved as a mother by her pupils, and after she was gone to her reward, Mrs. Reid filled her place, and the sweetest memories of women who are everywhere, even beyond the confines of civilization, (for many of the pupils became missionaries) are of Mrs. Reid, whose nobility of character and gentleness of disposition endeared her to all. The vicissitudes of a city are beyond comprehension: Steubenville, once the seat of one of the greatest female colleges in the land, the first in the west, is to-day without even an academy. Dr. Beatty made possible the union of Washington and Jefferson colleges by a munificent gift of money. He also endowed the Western Theological seminary; and thus the money accumulated in the education of women was devoted to the education of men.

Jefferson county has been impressed indelibly on the common school system, which is the brightest star in the state's diadem. While Acting Governor, in 1822, Allen Trimble, who was a Virginian whose ancestors first settled in Pennsylvania, appointed a committee of the Legislature to formulate a public school system. The belief that obtains that the Puritans who settled Marietta were the fathers of the school system, is based on error. They had a school system, but it was on the parochial[60] plan and was associated with the Congregational church, which was really a state church. The most influential member of the committee appointed by Governor Trimble was Judge William Johnson, late of Cincinnati, a native of the Scotch settlement on Yellow creek, and a man of wonderful force of character and influence. The committee formulated the plan which was the basis for the system now obtaining, but afterwards was perfected by Samuel Galloway, who also came from the Cumberland valley. Judge Johnson put his whole soul into the work and it was by the influence of his able arguments before the Legislature that the plan was adopted. In his address he called attention to the possibility of the youth of the state who did not have means to pay for tuition, growing up "boobies", and ever after up to his death Judge Johnson was called "Boobie Johnson." The part Jefferson county took in promoting the public school system, alone gives her basis for pride. She might rest her honors with the achievement of Judge William Johnson, and be sure of a laurel wreath, but this is not all. Mordecai Bartley, the thirteenth governor of the state, although born in Pennsylvania, lived in Jefferson county, having settled near the mouth of Cross creek, while a member of Congress was the first to propose the conversion of the land grants of Ohio, known as Section sixteen, into a permanent fund for support of the common schools.

---

[60] Knight.

The public school system was first adopted in Steubenville in 1838, and the first board of education was composed of Dr. Beatty, Dr. John Andrews and James Means. The first two buildings were erected on North and South Fourth streets at a cost of four thousand dollars. The first high school was added to the system in 1855, and the first pupil graduated in 1860. She was Miss Oella Patterson, who became a very prominent educator, holding, up to her death, a high position in an eastern college.

Dr. Henry C. McCook, the noted Philadelphia divine and scientist, was at one time a teacher in the Steubenville schools, and his brothers, Rev. Dr. John McCook, professor of languages in Trinity College, and whose books on Sociology are standard works, and Gen. Anson G. McCook, late secretary of the United States Senate, were pupils in the Steubenville schools. Prof. Sloane, of Columbia College, author of the best Life of Napoleon ever written, is a son of J. R. W. Sloane, president of Richmond College in 1848, and to-day the only college within the bounds of the county. Prof. Woodroe Wilson, of Princeton, and the author of a Life of Washington, is the grandson of James Wilson, the editor of The Setubenville Herald for many years after 1815. Dr. Eli Tappan, who is reckoned by Dr. Hinsdale as one of the most thorough teachers in the country, a profound scholar, with the facility of imparting his knowledge to others, was a native of Steubenville, the son of Senator Tappan, whose grandchildren now teach in the Steubenville schools, while one is a professor in an eastern college. Rev. Mr. Huston, a Presbyterian minister of Jefferson county, is a grandson of Senator Tappan, and he also has Stanton blood in his veins, being a grandson of Stanton's sister.

In 1837 the Friends erected a boarding school at Mount Pleasant, expending for grounds and building almost twenty-two thousand dollars, the buildings being commodious, but very plain. The school was opened with Daniel Williams as superintendent, and his wife as matron. The teachers in the male department were Robert S. Holloway and George K. Jenkins; female department, Abby Holloway and Abigail Flanner. The average attendance of pupils was sixty-nine, but for several years the expenses exceeded the income, which by good management was reversed and the income was large enough to make handsome dividends. In the factional fight that divided the Friends into Gurneyites and Wilburites in 1854, the Wilburites retained control of the boarding school, which they held until dispossessed by the Supreme Court in 1874, which placed the title in the name of the Gurney division. The Gurneyites expended a large sum of money for repairs and were prepared to reopen the school, but on the night of January 7, 1875, the entire building was consumed by fire.

Mary Edmondson, the mother of Anna Dickinson, taught school in the Short Creek meeting house in 1826.

XVIII.

The First Friends' Meeting and the Third Presbyterian Church in the State Established in Jefferson County — The First Methodist Church Erected in the Northwest Territory — Religion the Strongest Conviction of the Pioneer Fathers — The Hicksite Division in the Friends' Meeting Inaugurated in Jefferson County — The Hicksites Capture a Meeting House by Force — It is Called a Riot by Thos. Shillitoe who Kept a Journal — The Clerk's Desk Broken by the Mob and the Clerk so Seriously Injured that He Died from the Effects — Other Divisions — Christian Scientists and Faith Curists.

Religion was the most abiding conviction of the sturdy people who settled in that part of Jefferson county south of the Western Reserve line. They had a faith in God that was truly sublime. This faith inspired them to deeds of valor, for they felt that they were following along at the hand of God the pathway leading to destiny; that everything that happened was in the course of God's will, and that good would follow in the natural course of events, directed from on high. At the very earliest period, as has been shown, these people saw the divine hand shaping affairs for the coming of the great republic, and they felt that they were instruments selected to bring about the results that came of their endeavors. They were the very first to declare their intention to end the tyrant's rule by cutting loose from the government of Great Britain.[61] When they entered the wilderness with the intention of building a home, the Bible and the Psalm book were brought, even if there were not a bed. An element of power that characterized these people was the mental strength that came of ingrained Calvinism, for Calvinism was drawn with the mother's milk, that was largely the basis for their individualism, self-reliance; and where the source of this trait is understood there is no surprise at the magnitude of their achievements. It was the courage that comes of strong faith that gave the man Witherspoon, of this blood, the nerve to defy the tyrant as if the spirit of John Knox, who feared not the face of man, hovered about Independence Hall. It was his Calvinistic stubbornness that gave him the influence that procured signatures to the immortal declaration that would not have been signed had it not been for his native force and tenacity of purpose. Of this strain were the pioneers. Religious, persistent, stubborn. It is not strange, therefore, that the church was contemporary with the settlements. These people were of the same blood, of the same names, as those who built the first churches in the Cumberland and Virginia valleys, the first west of the Alleghenies. They were descendants, some of them, of those who founded Hanover. Donegal, Derry, Unity and Redstone, for we find members of these churches with Lochry, with Williamson, with Crawford and with Wayne. The first Presbyterian church in the territory was that established in Cincinnati in 1793, and which was projected by soldiers in Wayne's army, for on the subscription list were the names of many of these brave men, who saw in the removal of the savage the consummation of destiny, and yet one writer is quoted by Butterfield in his biography of Simon Girty that he instructed the Indians not to disturb the "Scotch-Irish settlements of Virginia [Panhandle], because they, being Presbyterians, never took part in any of the wars against the Indians." Robert Finley and his congregation, on the advice of Massie, settled at Chillicothe and established there the second Presbyterian church in the territory. The third and fourth churches of this denomination were established in Jefferson county, and by 1804 there was a Presbyterian church in every settlement of a dozen families in the territory now within the lines of the county. Finley's son, Rev. J. B. Finley, the surveyor, Indian scout and divine, was one of the earliest Methodist evangelists in the territory, having preached throughout the Ohio country while it was still a wilderness. J. B. Finley was an educated man, having been a student in his father's classical schools in North Carolina and Tennessee. The belief that has been handed down that the early Methodist evangelists were ignorant men is a falsehood whose ramifications have not been proscribed by time. The statement that the pioneers were ignorant and were incapable of understanding an educated ministry is the twin of this falsehood.

---

[61] Bancroft.

Rev. David Jones from Freehold, New Jersey, was probably the first minister of the gospel in the Ohio river country, having made a preaching tour among the Indians and the few settlers in 1772. He speaks of Mingotown in his journal, of which fact mention is made in these sketches, but he does not state that he preached in the county. He was with George Rogers Clarke opposite the mouth of Captina creek the same year, and notes in his journal that "he instructed what Indians came over." He was informed here that the chief of the tribe located at the mouth of Captina, was a professor of Christianity, and was struck by the impression his prayer made on the Indians who heard him. It was at this place that in the spring of 1780 several families descending the river to Kentucky, were attacked by the Indians and murdered or carried into captivity, one of the latter, Catherine Malott, afterwards becoming the wife of Simon Girty. Rev David Jones was a Welsh Baptist, and during the Revolutionary war was known as the "Fighting Chaplain", and he stood beside Anthony Wayne as his chaplain for the Pennsylvania line. His eloquence was a wonderful power at Valley Forge in cheering the disheartened soldiers. It is said of him that he told his men "that a shad would as soon be seen barking up a tree as a Revolutionary soldier turning his back on the enemy or going to hell."

In his journal, dated Cross creek (Mingo), Sunday, October 2, 1785, Gen. Butler, who was on an expedition having for its purpose the removal of squatters from the Indian country, says: "The people of this country appear to be much imposed upon by a sect called Methodist, and are become great fanatics." He did not state in what way the fanaticism was manifested, unless it be what he says in the following sentence—"They say they have paid taxes which are too heavy," was in his his mind a fanatical complaint.

In a history of the Methodist church of Steubenville, written by Rev. Dr. D. C. Osborne, it is stated that "as early as the summer of 1794, Samuel Hitt and John Reynolds, of that denomination, preached a few sermons here amidst much opposition." It is also mentioned that in 1795-6, Charles Connaway, presiding elder, Samuel Hitt and Thomas Haywood, also came upon the site of Steubenville — "the latter being poor, received twenty-four pounds in Pennsylvania currency per annum for his services." Doddridge says in his Notes that the "Rev. Dr. Doddridge was the first Christian minister who preached in our little village." This was in 1796. An error is made by either one of the historians, or else, Doddridge, being an Episcopalian, did not recognize the Methodist preachers as Christian ministers. The circuit embraced in the itinerancy of Hitt and Reynolds included Ohio county, Virginia, Washington County, Pa., and the settlements on both sides of the Ohio from the mouth of the Muskingum to near Pittsburg. A society was soon formed in Steubenville and the congregation was kept supplied. Bishop Asbury visited Steubenville in 1803, and made this entry in his diary: "The court house could not contain all the people; we went to the Presbyterian tent, and as the Jews and Samaritans have no dealings, I must tender my thanks. I found a delightful home with the family of Bezaleel Wells, who is friendly to our church."

In 1815, when the first conference was held in Steubenville, Bezaleel Wells, the foremost man in the community, was asked to entertain one of the representative men of the conference. Following the request a minister from the Northwest, dressed in homespun, spattered with mud, alighted from his horse at the mansion of Mr. Wells. His appearance was anything but prepossessing, and Wells was chagrined, for he expected to entertain a representative minister. He called on the local minister and took him to task for his neglect to follow out the request. The local minister told Mr. Wells to wait until he heard his young guest preach the following Sunday, which he did, and was so impressed with his great intellect and magnificent oratorical powers that he expressed wonder that such a man should be buried in the pioneer work in the Northwest. The next day Mr. Wells took the young minister to a tailor and had him make for him the finest suit of clothing he could produce. This young minister was Rev. Bigelow, noted in the annals of Methodism as one of the most powerful of the heroic pioneer itinerants.

It is not certain where the first Methodist Episcopal church was built in the Northwest Territory, but it is the accepted belief that it was Holmes church, now on the Smithfield circuit in Jefferson county. This church was built on the banks of Short creek in 1803, on ground donated by Jacob Holmes, who was given a farm by the government for services as a scout. It was of hewn logs and had a chimney in one side, the fire-place being seven feet in the clear. The floor was of puncheons and the seats were made of trees split in two and set on pegs. The society was organized sometime previously and there was preaching at Jacob Holmes' house, the Holmeses, Moores and Meeks being members of the first society. Three of Isaac Meek's sons became preachers, and in this building Jacob Holmes and John Meek were licensed to preach. Bishop Asbury, J. B. Finley, J. R. Brochunier, and other distinguished divines preached in the old church. The old building was abandoned in 1810 and the creek now runs over the place where the graveyard was, and it is said that bodies were washed out by the current and carried away. Two churches have since been erected and the congregation is to-day in a flourishing state.

Eighteen hundred and eleven was the year of revivals in the Steubenville Methodist church, the congregation increasing to such numbers and power that a church building was erected on a lot donated by Bezaleel Wells, the house being thirty-five by fifty feet, it being much larger than the room over the court house erected in 1798, and reserved for the religious services of all denominations. The next year conference was in session in Steubenville, Bishops Asbury and McKendree being present. During this revival meetings were held in Bezaleel Wells' sugar orchard, at which "there was great outpouring of the 'Spirit.'" In 1814 J. B. Finley was on the circuit embracing Steubenville, which then included all of the present territory of Jefferson, and parts of Harrison and Belmont counties. Finley, in September of that year, wrote: "This is a four weeks' circuit, with an appointment for each week day and two for each Sabbath, making thirty-two appointments, with fifty classes to meet each round." It was well that there were giants in those days. He continues: "This year the church in Steubenville was completed and dedicated. At the time of the dedication a Bible was presented by twelve gentlemen of the town, with the request that a sermon be preached from Rev. xxii, 1, which was complied with, and it pleased God to pour out His Spirit in a wonderful manner. Eleven of the twelve were converted." This was the beginning of the First Methodist church of which Edwin M. Stanton was at one time a member, afterwards attending the Methodist Protestant church of Steubenville.

Matthew Simpson, the ablest prelate of the Methodist Episcopal church in America, was born within the lines of the original Jefferson county, his birth-place being Cadiz. His parents were Scotch-Irish and were among the early settlers, his mother having been reared on the headwaters of Short creek. He was characterized by many of the distinguishing traits of the blood of which he was one of the most striking examples. But as a boy he was uncouth, awkward, bashful and gave very little evidence of his preëminence in manhood. He went about barefooted, without coat and his suspenders fastened with nails run through his waistband. He received the fire of religious enthusiasm early in his career, but attended college with the intention of becoming a physician, having changed from this project to the ministry by the influence of Miss Letitia McFadden, afterwards Mrs. Joseph R. Hunter. This sainted woman had come from Philadelphia and had established the first Presbyterian Sunday-school in the village. Simpson, desiring to establish such a school in the Methodist church, asked permission of the trustees, who refused to permit him to use the church, on the ground that a Sunday-school would bring children into the church, and children would bring in litter. The matter was finally compromised by Simpson agreeing to sweep the church each Monday morning, and thus he established his Sunday-school. This was the beginning of the career of the Bishop whose great mind conceived and whose master genius carried out, the great enterprises of one of the most magnificent religious organizations in the world, and whose oratorical triumphs are a part of the Republic's history. He was sought for advice by President Lincoln during the trials that almost overwhelmed him during the darkest days of the War Between the States, and he was the close friend of Gen. Grant; a man of God was he, powerful in church and state.

Bishop Stephen Mason Merrill was born in Mount Pleasant, September 16, 1825, and became a traveling preacher in the M. E. church in 1864 and Bishop in 1872. Bishop Merrill is probably known in a larger circle of Methodists than any other bishop. His work has been all in the church and none of it in the educational line of the church. His earliest recollections are of his days as a barefooted youngster, hunting squirrels over the hills about Mount Pleasant. He could run faster than any boy he knew and could jump higher than any one in the whole country. There was very little money in the family purse and it was necessary for him early in his teens to turn in and add his small earnings to those of the other members of the family. He had learned the trade of a shoemaker and worked on the bench with his book propped in front of him in a homemade rack, combining business with education and struggling to earn enough in spare moments to pay his way through school. Bishop Merrill is the lawyer and parliamentarian of the episcopacy, and his book on ecclesiastical law is the code in the Methodist church.

Rev. Bascum, who was one of the most eloquent ministers of America, was one of the pioneer Steubenville preachers, who went from Steubenville to Pittsburg, from there to the eastern cities; and when the church divided into Northern and Southern factions, he joined the Southern body and became its greatest bishop.

But the honor of erecting the first house of worship in Jefferson county belongs to the Presbyterians. In 1798 the settlement on the site of St. Clairsville organized a church, of which William McWilliams, David McWilliams and James McConnell were chosen ruling elders. At the same time a Presbyterian church was organized on Short creek (Mt. Pleasant). Dr. John McMillen, the founder of Washington and Jefferson college, and a pioneer minister in Western Pennsylvania, being a graduate of the Old Log College of the Tennants, assisted at the organization of the two churches. In the same year a log church was erected at St. Clairsville as well as one at Mount Pleasant. In the following year a call was made out for Rev. Joseph Anderson, who had been supplying the two churches. The joint call was placed before the Presbytery of Ohio on April 15, 1800, and he was installed on August 20th, the same year. His ordination took place under a large tree on the farm of the late Clark Mitchell, near Mount Pleasant, and the honor was his of being the first Presbyterian minister ordained west of the Ohio river.[62] It is said of Rev. Anderson by his biographer that "he was a man of zeal and true piety, sound in the faith and abundant in labors, of good presence and address, but of moderate abilities." After serving both churches for many years, he devoted his whole time to St. Clairsville.

The place where the first services were held by the Short creek Presbyterians was the site of Beech Spring school house, near Short creek. The people stood under the spreading branches of the primitive forest while the minister and the precentor were under an awning. The first elders were Richard McKibbon, Thomas McCune, James Clark and James Eagleson. The first building was about one and one-fourth miles southeast of the place where the organization was effected. The building of course was a very crude structure and was without fire or fireplace, as was the custom in the pioneer days, fire being considered sacrilegious in a church, although delicate women were permitted to bring heated stones to keep their feet warm during the winter months. In this log house the Presbyterians of the Short creek church worshiped for twenty years. A cemetery containing a hundred graves was also there, but time has destroyed almost all signs of it, there being but one or two stones left to mark the graves of the fathers who have gone before. The old log church has been succeeded by two brick edifices, the new buildings being in Mount Pleasant. The congregation was served by two ministers for eighty years, Rev. Benjamin Mitchell, who followed Rev. Anderson, having preached to this flock for fifty years.

---

[62] Rev. Dr. Milligan.

NOTE.—Ohio Presbytery was formed out of Redstone Presbytery in 1793, and extended to the Scioto.

Early in 1798 Rev. Smiley Hughes preached to the settlers in Steubenville by appointment of the Presbytery of Ohio and by similar appointment Rev. James Snodgrass preached in the town and neighborhood in June, 1799, but the church was not permanently formed until this time, when a tent was erected in which services were held by ministers by appointment of the Presbytery. At about this time the Island creek Presbyterian church was organized and a joint call was made for Mr. Snodgrass, which joint pastorate he filled until 1816, when the pastorate of the Steubenville church was dissolved, and Rev. Wm. McMillen, who had taken charge of an academy built previous to 1811, and who had filled the pulpit the days Mr. Snodgrass was at his other charge, was elected pastor. The first church built was in 1803, which was a brick structure. The first ruling elders were Thomas Vincent, John Milligan, Samuel Hunter, John Rickey and Samuel Meek. The other old Presbyterian churches in the county are, Two Ridges, organized by Rev. Snodgrass in 1804; Bacon Ridge in 1804; Cross creek, by Obadiah Jennings, who had been receiver of the Land Office, in 1816. The Piney Fork United Presbyterian church was organized in 1800, the pastor being Rev. Alexander Calderhead, a Scotch minister of the Associate Reformed church. He was the pastor of the church until the relation was dissolved by his death in 1812. The United Presbyterian church of Steubenville was organized in 1810, Rev. George Buchanan being the first pastor, which relation he held until his death, in 1855. He was a zealous and faithful minister, and for nearly thirty years supplied the pulpits of the churches on Yellow creek, and on Harmon's creek, the latter being at Paris, Pa.

In 1786 the Associate Reformed Synod of Pennsylvania having decided that "a religious test was not essential to the being of a magistrate," there were many dissenters, among them George Buchanan, Alexander McCoy and Robert Warwick, who settled in the southern part of Jefferson county, now Kirkwood township, Belmont county. The new religious formula created a schism "which widened and grew stronger until on January 27, 1801, a Presbytery was organized at Washington, Pa., the name adopted being 'The Reformed Dissenting Presbytery.'" McCoy became a minister of this denomination, and a church for the accomodation of a growing congregation was built in 1812. The first minister to preach in the log church was Rev. John Patterson, of Pennsylvania, who filled the pulpit once a month. He was succeeded by Rev. John Anderson, under whose pastorate a stone church was built to accomodate the continued growth of the congregation. Sermons two and three hours long were preached both morning and afternoon by Mr. Anderson. He was a man of great ability, but large as the congregation was, the building holding five hundred people, he received only thirty dollars per year. At the death of Mr. Anderson Rev. Hugh Forsythe, who defeated Henry Clay for the presidency by announcing to the country that he had been on an Ohio river steamboat with the famous statesman and had seen him gambling with his own eyes and had heard him take the name of God in vain with his own ears, was called to the charge. Rev. Goudy was the minister when the secession took place and broke up the congregation, which then attended the United Presbyterian church.

The first Protestant Episcopal church was organized in December, 1800, Dr. Doddridge entering into an agreement with a number of persons living west of the Ohio river, to perform the duties of a clergyman every third Saturday at the house of "the widow McGuire," in what is now Cross Creek township, near Fernwood station, on the Panhandle railroad, the name of the church then organized being St. James. The subscription paper, which is dated December 1, 1800, contains the following names: George Mahan, William Whitecraft, Eli Kelly, George Hailiwell, William McConnell, John McConnell, George Richey, Benjamin Doyle, Joseph Williams, John Long, Mary McGuire, John McKnight, Frederick Allbright, John Scott, Moses Hanlon. It was this parish that first petitioned the General Convention in 1806 asking leave to form a diocese in the western country. Those signing this petition were, William McConnell, Robert Maxwell, John Cunningham, George Mahan, Andrew Elliott, James Cunningham, Samuel Tipton, Alexander Cunningham, Widow Mahan, Gabriel Armstrong, John McCullough, James Foster, Benjamin Doyle, William White, Thomas White, James Strong, John McConnell, Hugh Taggart, Richard White, John Foster, James Dunlevy, William Graham, and Daniel Dunlevy, the latter an uncle of Judge James H. Anderson, of Columbus. All Scotch-Irish. A church was built which was consecrated by Bishop Chase in 1825. Dr. Doddridge was the rector of the parish until 1823. St. James was the second Protestant Episcopal church organized in the Northwest Territory, the first being at Marietta. Long's M. E. church was organized in 1803 and is an offshoot of the St. James Episcopal church. Rev. J. B. Finley preached in this church in 1813.

St. Paul's Episcopal church was organized in Steubenville in 1819, by Bishop Philander Chase, at the residence of William Dickenson, who, being engaged in building up other parishes in the neighborhood, gave but half of his time to St. Paul's, but while he was absent services were held by Edward Wood. The congregation worshiped sometimes in a room over the market house and sometimes in the building erected by the First M. E. church, but in 1822 the congregation occupied an old academy on High street until the completion of their new building, which was consecrated by Bishop McIlvain, September 13, 1833.

The first Friends' meeting west of the Ohio river was held in the autumn of 1800, near the tent of Jonathan Taylor, on the site of what is now known as Concord, in Belmont county, five miles from Mt. Pleasant. The same year the Friends erected a log meeting house, the first church of this denomination in the west, but it was not, as has been stated by historians, the first church of any denomination erected in what is now Belmont county, for as early as 1798 the Baptists had a log church near the site of St. Clairsville, and at about the same time and near the same place the Seceders or Unionists built a log church. The same denomination erected a church not far from the Concord meeting house in 1801. However it is a fact that the first Friends' meeting held by authority in Ohio was at Concord, which was so called by suggestion of Hannah Trimble, a traveling minister, on a visit to this meeting. According to memoranda kept by Joseph Garretson, who settled at Concord in 1801, there had been only a few Friends in that neighborhood up to that time, the names of those settling being Joseph Dew, Benjamin and Borden Stanton, Horton Howard, Jonathan Taylor and others. Hannah Trimble and Hannah Kimberly were the first Friends in the ministry who traveled in Ohio. As evidence of the increase of the Friends' population it is only necessary to note that in 1807, a quarterly meeting was opened and held at Short creek, (Mt. Pleasant) being composed of Concord, Short creek, Plymouth, Plainfield, and Stillwater monthly meetings. The first meeting held in the Taylor tent was attended only by Taylor, wife, children, and a few others. Meetings were regularly held for worship and meetings for the transaction of business were established in 1802 under authority of the Yearly meeting held in the east. In 1804, Jonathan Taylor removed from Concord to a point nearer the site of Mount Pleasant, wherein was erected a meeting house, the Stantons, Lipseys, and other Friends having moved to the locality from North Carolina. The records of a monthly meeting called Short creek, held March 5, 1804, contain this note — "At this first meeting the subject of the pious and guarded education of the youth and the state of the schools was weightily considered, and a committee appointed to give the subject further solid consideration." Nathan Updegraff was appointed clerk, Jesse Hall and Henry Lewis from Short creek Preparatory meeting, to serve as overseers. The meeting built a house in 1806, the structure being forty-five by seventy feet, at that time the largest church building in the state. Ohio Yearly meeting was set off from the Baltimore Yearly meeting in 1812, previously the meetings west of the Alleghenies being under control of Baltimore, and the first Ohio Yearly meeting was held at Short creek in 1813. Marriages in accordance with the established usage of the Friends' meeting were frequent. On December 20, 1814, was recorded the bans of Benjamin Lundy, the first American Abolitionist, and Esther Lewis. In 1816 a brick meeting house sixty-two by ninety, showing the rapid increase of the Friends, was built in Mount Pleasant, there now being two meeting houses in the immediate neighborhood, one at Short creek and the other at Mount Pleasant.

It was at the Yearly meeting held at Mount Pleasant, in 1828, that the Friends of America divided into two factions, one the followers of Elias Hicks, adopting the name of Friends, and the other Orthodox Friends. The meeting at which the separation occurred, according to the account written by Thomas Shillitoe, who was present, was broken up in a riot. The meeting was held on September 6, which was Sunday, but those who had gathered in the meeting house, knowing that Hicks and those with him, had come prepared to make trouble, refused them admittance to the house, whereupon Hicks and his faction held a meeting in the open air. The next day Hicks and his friends were in the house early and as soon as the meeting had fully gathered, says Shillitoe, "Elias Hicks stood up and occupied much time in setting forth his 'doctrines.' On their being requested again and again to sit down, the Hicksite party shouted from various parts of the meeting, manifesting such violence of temper that it appeared safest to suffer them to go on." The next day, September 8, the opposition to the Hicksites organized door-keepers for the purpose of preventing the admission of the "Separatists", who became so violent that it was considered the better part of peace to admit the disturbing element. The door-keepers being removed from service, "the mob, headed by two Hicksite preachers, rushed into the house like a torrent, accompanied by some of the rabble of the town." The Hicksite party prevented the clerk, Jonathan Taylor, from opening the meeting, and even forced him from the table, which was broken, and Taylor injured, from which injury he never recovered, it being the cause of his death. "My seat," writes Shillitoe, "being next to the clerk, a man[63] of large stature and bulk came over the gallery rail almost upon me, followed by two young men. I was on the point to leave the house, but before I was on my feet one of the Separatists near me, looking up, exclaimed that the gallery over our heads was falling. A great crash at this moment was heard over our heads, which it was afterwards proved had been produced by one of the Separatists breaking a piece of wood. Immediately an alarm being given, 'the gallery is falling!' from the other side of the house, there was an outcry, 'The house is falling!' A sudden rush in every direction produced a sound like thunder, and brought down a small piece of plaster, which raised considerable dust and had the appearance of the walls giving way." Further confusion was caused by the Friends calling out that the alarm was false, and mixed with their voices were the voices of the Hickites declaring that the building was falling, although it was observed that while the Hicksites were urging the others to leave they made no effort to get away from the danger themselves. "I had no difficulty," says Shillitoe, "until I reached the door, where the crowd was very great. Some were thrown down and were in danger of being trampled to death." "The Separatists having now obtained possession of the house, voices were heard above the general uproar, 'Now is the time, rush on!' When the tumult and uproar had somewhat subsided, it was proposed that we should leave this scene of riot; which, being united with Friends, adjourned." The Hicksites retained possession of the house and the other Friends met in the open air, adjourning afterwards to the Short creek meeting house. The next year the Hicksites built a meeting house, but continued to have the use of the other two houses. The Hicksites continue to hold meeting in the house erected by them in the primitive style of the Friends.

According to Shillitoe, the turbulance occasioned by the attempts of the Hicksites to control the Stillwater meeting, was even greater than that at Mt. Pleasant. He says: "The meeting was informed before it was fully gathered, that some persons were on their way who had been members of this select meeting, but who had been disowned in consequence of uniting themselves with the Separatists (Hicksites). On their making the attempt to enter the house, and the door-keeper preventing them, they assembled on the meeting house lot, where they held their meeting, praying and preaching, so much to the annoyance of Friends that they were obliged to close the windows of the meeting house." The next day while proceeding towards the meeting house Shillitoe observed a vast crowd of people assembled; the nearer he approached the more awful the commotion appeared; "the countenances and actions of many manifested a determination to make their way into the house by resorting to violent means, if no other way would effect their designs. By pressing through the crowd we gained admittance. The tumult increased to an alarming degree; the consequences of keeping the doors fastened any longer were to be dreaded, as the mob were beginning to break the windows to obtain an entrance, and to inflict blows on some of the door-keepers. It was therefore concluded to open the doors. The door of the men's room being opened, — to attempt to describe the scene to the full would be in vain. The feelings awakened in my mind were such as to almost overpower my confidence in the superintending care of a Divine Protector. The countenances of many as they entered the house seemed to indicate that they were ready to fall upon the little handful of us in the minister's gallery, there being few others in the house. Some of their party forced open the shutters as if they would have brought the whole of them to the ground; others ran to the doors, which had been made secure, seizing them, tore them open and some off the hinges. The cracking and hammering this occasioned for the short time it lasted, was awful to me, not knowing where or in what this scene of riot and wickedness of temper would end. The house was very soon crowded to an extreme, the Separatists taking possession of one end of the men's room and Friends the other." The business of the two Quarterly meetings was then conducted as if nothing had happened to disturb the tranquil mind of these peaceable people.

---

[63] David Burson.

The cause of the division in the Friends' meeting with the resulting factions of Hicksites and Orthodox Friends, was a statement made the year before the division, by Elias Hicks, who was a very prominent man of Philadelphia as well as a Friend of wide reputation. During the Yearly meeting at Mt. Pleasant a heated discussion took place in which Hicks made the declaration that there "was no more efficacy in the blood of Christ than in the blood of goats." Members of the meeting dissented with much vigor of expression, but he being a person of strong force and wide influence, he had many adherents. It is said, however, that had he been moved at the time to make the explanation of his statement that was afterwards made, the division that resulted in much bitterness of feeling would not have been.

The Orthodox (opposition to the Hicksites) divided in 1854 into what is known as the Gurneyites and the Wilburites, the Gurney faction taking the Short creek house and the other faction the Mt. Pleasant meeting house. The Wilburites held the boarding school property built in 1836 up to 1874, when the Supreme Court by decision settled the title in favor of the Gurneyites.

After these great divisions others followed. Abby Kelly, a disciple of the Graham system of diet and a spiritualist, lectured in Mt. Pleasant in 1840 and gained many converts in the society of Friends to her theories. John O. Wattles, the noted vegetarian, also won many converts among the Friends. He was likewise a spiritualist and would not move a finger without direction by a spirit. Some of his Mt. Pleasant converts dying, it was said they starved to death as the result of the restricted diet advocated by him, he holding the theory that eating the flesh of animals was a violation of the laws of God. His wife is now living at Oberlin at the age of eighty, her daughters, who were educated in Paris, teaching music in the conservatory. Mrs. Wattles has not eaten meat for fifty years and her daughters never tasted flesh, holding as they do, strictly to the schism taught as a religion by their father.

Another division was made by Elisha Bates. The followers of Fox did not believe in baptism by water, but of the Holy Ghost. Bates, while on a visit to the Holy Land, submitted to baptism in the River Jordan, and was taken to task for this lapse from the doctrine as promulgated by the father of the meeting; but he held to the ordinance of baptism as a saving means, on which subject he wrote a book. This he afterwards renounced and the copies of the book in the hands of the Mt. Pleasant Friends were burned with ceremony; but he again recanted and in 1844 left the Friends to become a Methodist Episcopal minister, readopting the tenets he had set forth in the book, the copies of which had been burned at his request. He had followers in each of the several movements, and of course took with him into the Methodist communion a number of Friends. While addressing a large camp meeting near Mt. Pleasant in 1844, Bates was interrupted by persons he had offended by his various changes; boys even pelting him with buckeyes. He grew angry and declared that he had left the most tranquil church in the land and now found himself in the noisiest, extremes that he could not reconcile. He then left the Methodist church.

The Gurneyites are the followers of Joseph John Gurney, who favored evangelism; the Wilburites are the followers of John Wilbur, who dissented. All the factional differences divided families as well as the meeting.

The Friends to-day are divided into many schisms, there being at Mt. Pleasant, once the stronghold of Quakers, Spiritualists, Christian Scientists, Divine Healers, and several other schisms of like character.

The first Regular Baptist church in Jefferson county was established in Steubenville May 17, 1812, but two years later the church was removed to where Unionport now is and was called Mount Moriah.

Although there were Catholic families in Steubenville as early as 1792, a church was not built until 1832, when the foundation of St. Pius church, now St. Peters, was laid by Rev. Father Grady, but during the interval missionary priests from Pittsburg made stated visits, the first of these being Rev. Father O'Brien, of blessed memory.

Rev. Thomas and Rev. Alexander Campbell, father and son, the founders of the Disciples church, were early in Jefferson county. In The Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette of September 13, 1828, is the following notice:—"The citizens of Steubenville are respectfully informed that Messrs. Thomas and A. Campbell will wait upon them in the court house, on Sunday, the 14th, at 11 o'clock, for the purpose of preaching the ancient Gospel." While the Campbells frequently preached in Jefferson county the records do not show that a church society was organized before 1844. Alexander Campbell's influence in the Ohio river country is already a part of history, his college at Bethany, near the Ohio-Pennsylvania-Virginia lines being at one time one of the most influential institutions of learning in the west.

The religious interests of Ross township were early sustained by the first settlers, among them men of strong convictions, such as Judge Thomas George, Henry Crabs and Isaac Shane. Early in the century the Old Brick church was erected on Bacon Ridge under the influence of the Shane families, these families to-day being the moving spirit in this venerable Presbyterian organization.

The first preaching on Yellow creek, one of the most noted streams in the annals of Ohio, was from a tent erected on its banks in Ross township. Here the Gospel was liberated from rising to setting of the sun, and so stentorian was the preacher that the Word could be heard throughout the dale and over the hills. Upon communion occasions, when the service would be long and the people had come from great distances to partake of the holy sacrament, a candle would be lighted that the end of the service might be the same evening. Ross township now contains a church for each six square miles, which is to say, six churches are within its territory.

XIX.

A Newspaper in Steubenville in 1806 — The First Editor Col. Miller of Fort Meigs Fame — All the Early Editors Prominent Men — James Wilson a Pupil of Duane of the Philadelphia Aurora — He Changes the Steubenville Herald to a Whig Organ and the Democrats Start Another Paper — Two Steubenville Editors Start the First Daily Paper in Pittsburg — Some of the Early Editors Elected to Congress.

The site of Turner Hall on North Third street is the site of one of the first buildings erected in Steubenville. The old building was erected by the father of Col. John Miller, one of the founders of the Herald, previous to 1800. The property was inherited by Col. Miller, who, with William Lowry, established The Herald in it in 1806. This lot was inherited by the late James Parks, who was Miller's nephew, and sold by him to the Turner society. When The Herald was established it was a Democratic paper and the only journal in Steubenville, afterwards becoming a Whig paper and subsequently Republican.

Both Lowry and Miller came to Steubenville from Berkeley county, Va., and both became distinguished men. Miller volunteered in the War of Twelve, but afterwards joined the Regulars. He distinguished himself at the battle of Fort Meigs, and was promoted to a colonelcy in the regular army. After the war, when the Missouri lands were opened, he was made land register of that territory.

Lowry died in Steubenville in 1843. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1823-24 and of the Senate in 1825-6. It was during his last year as Senator that Henry Clay was invited to speak in Steubenville on what was then known as the American system (the protective tariff). A big public dinner was given, and speeches were made by Clay, James Ross, Senator from Pennsylvania, and one of the founders of Steubenville, and by John C. Wright, member of Congress from the district. Clay's toast was — "Jefferson County: Its Green Hills, its Flocks and its Fleeces." The woolen mills were in full blast then, with market for their product throughout the country. Wm. Lowry was a man of considerable ability and influence. Besides representing

COL JOHN MILLER. Photo by Filson & Son.

Founder of Steubenville Herald in 1806, and Leader of Sortie at Fort Meigs During the War of 1812.

the county in the Legislature he held other important offices. He was a civil engineer, and surveyed and built the old gravel road leading from Steubenville to Alikanna. Alikanna was then known as Speakersburg, having been laid out as a town during the "boom" period of 1814.

Wm. Lowry occupied the building in which The Herald was established as his office as the public surveyor and lived in the adjoining brick.

James Wilson was brought here from Philadelphia by Judge Wright to edit The Herald in 1815. Wilson was a pupil of Duane of The Philadelphia Aurora, then perhaps the most prominent Democratic paper in the country. It was under Wilson's administration that The Herald was made a Whig organ, the name then being The Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette. A copy of the paper of date September 11, 1819, at hand, gives not the least evidence that it had an editor, let alone such a distinguished man as Judge Wilson at its head. Like most papers of the early days, it was filled with foreign news many days old, patent medicine advertisements, and announcements of the local merchants, which were more numerous than now. Wilson died in a house on North Fourth street, of cholera, in 1852. Mrs. Wilson, who went to New Lisbon after her husband's death, died there shortly after the late war, and her remains lie in the Steubenville cemetery. They had seven children, two of the sons, Henry and Edward, and a daughter, Margaret, being triplets. The names of the other children were Joseph, the father of Prof. Woodrow Wilson of Princeton college, Elizabeth, James and Robert. Robert succeeded his father as editor of The Herald, but afterwards went to New Lisbon, where he died. James, while in Steubenville, joined the Fifth street M. P. church and became a preacher. He was smart and eloquent, but did not care what he said when not in the pulpit. On one occasion he had been riding horseback, and the animal getting his foot fastened in the stirrup, the Rev. James remarked to the unfortunate horse, "Damn you; if you are going to get on, I'll get off." He went from Steubenville to Cincinnati, where he became a Methodist Episcopal minister, and from Cincinnati to New York, where he died. His parents were Presbyterians, and almost disowned him for joining the

Methodist church. Joseph became a Presbyterian minister and moved to South Carolina. At the outbreak of the war he was a strong secessionist, but when things began to get warm, he changed his mind and made a speech against rebellion in Charleston, for which indiscretion he was arrested by the Confederate authorities and imprisoned.

Henry went to Columbus, where he married a daughter of Gen. Medary, and Edward, who was a militia general, went to New York.

In 1816, the year after Wilson came to Steubenville, he was elected to the State Legislature. After Wilson joined the Whig party with his paper, Frew & Laird established, in a building opposite The Herald office, The Ledger as a Jackson paper on September 20, 1826. Rev. J. P. Miller, a Seceder minister and a Democrat, was an editorial contributor of The Ledger, writing a vast amount of matter for its columns. He was a man of great intellect and displayed much ability as a political writer.

Samuel Frew died at Elizabeth on the Monongahela river in 1859. Mr. Laird, his partner, went to Greensburg, Pa., where for many years he edited The Argus, dying only a few years ago at the ripe age of 90.

Apropos of Wilson's editorship of The Herald and the changing of the paper from a Democratic organ to a Whig organ, a correspondent of the Pittsburg Post gives the following incident of the campaign of 1844:

"Jimmy" Polk of Tennessee was the Democratic candidate, and that great idol of the Whigs, Henry Clay, was the Whig candidate. It was a long and lively campaign, big meetings being held all over the country, and your city took an unusually lively interest in it, as there was a governor to be elected in Pennsylvania that year. Shunk was the Democratic candidate, and was one of the speakers at a big meeting held at the foot of Seminary hill. Dr. John McCook of Steubenville was another of the speakers. There were a number of stands erected for the speakers, and the one the doctor spoke from was packed with his political friends, as he no doubt believed, but there was one exception. On the stand was a young man, who, unnoticed, managed to get close to the doctor while he was speaking. In the course of his speech Dr. McCook charged a Mr. Wilson, of Steubenville, editor of a Whig paper, with having published untruthful charges against the Democrats, knowing at the same time that they were lies; and just then this young man struck him and jumped off the stand, and had not a horseman pushed his way through the crowd and got him on his horse, I believe he would have been killed. He was a son of Wilson. The doctor was very little hurt, and went on with his speech."

The Republican Ledger was purchased in 1830 from Mr. Laird, who was then sole owner, by a Mr. Rippey and Joseph Cable. Cable was born in Island Creek township in 1800 and was of French Huguenot stock. They changed the name to The Jeffersonian Democrat and Farmers' and Mechanics' Advocate. Hon. L. Harper, late of The Mt. Vernon Banner, learned the printer's trade in this office, and in 1832 went to Pittsburg with James Wilson, then the publisher of The Herald, and established the first daily published in that city. It was a Whig paper and was named The Pennsylvania Advocate. The Advocate was in opposition to The Gazette, which was an Anti-Masonic organ. Mr. Cable sold The Jeffersonian Democrat to Messrs. John S. Patterson and James Scott, who changed the name to The American Union. Mr. Cable went to New Lisbon, where he published The Patriot for some years, going from there to Carrollton, where he published a Democratic paper, and in 1848 was elected to Congress, serving two terms, and was distinguished for efforts that secured the passage of the Homestead act, in this work dividing honors with Salmon P. Chase, who was in the Senate. He afterwards went to Paulding, where he continued his newspaper work almost up to the time of his death, which occurred May 10, 1880. Although an old man, he took a very active part in the campaign of 1873, when William Allen was elected Governor by the Democrats. He was noted for a long time as an infidel, but he was converted in the Methodist church and died an ardent Christian. Patterson and Scott continued the publication of The Union. Scott was killed while on a pleasure excursion to Wellsburg with a party of young folks from Steubenville. The publication of the paper was continued alone by Mr. Patterson up to 1837, when it was purchased by Col. W. C. McCauslen and

Leckey Harper, who were succeeded by Justin G. Morris. Col. McCauslen went to Congress, as did also his successor, Andrew Stuart. Stuart was succeeded by Mr. Sheridan, who, during the war left the Democratic ranks and made a Union party organ of the paper, and the enterprise failed. In 1863 the Democrats established The Courier, which was edited by Mr. Logan, but it had a short life, the Democrats who furnished the money for the enterprise lost all they invested in the paper. On September 1, 1865, C. N. Allen, of Cadiz, established The Gazette, which he continued to issue up to February, 1875, when the office was purchased by the present proprietors, McFadden & Hunter.

The Herald was made a daily paper by W. R. Allison in 1847, just after the first telegraph line was built to Steubenville, and continued its publication up to 1873, when P. B. Conn became its owner, with Joseph B. Doyle as manager. In 1897 the plant was purchased by a company of which Hon. J. J. Gill is the head, with Mr. Doyle as editor and manager, the paper being one of the most prominent Republican organs in Ohio, whose influence in party affairs is recognized by the leaders.

XX.

A Manumitted Slave Colony Founded by Nathaniel Benford of Virginia on McIntyre Creek — Although Well Equipped in Every Possible Material Manner, and in a Quaker Neighborhood with all the Aid these Friends of the Negro Slave Could Give, the Colony Proves a Failure — The Negroes Degenerate and Almost Relapse into Barbarism — Their Weird Superstitions, their Religious and Political Fervor — Their Religious and Political Meetings — Benjamin Lundy Starts the First Abolition Paper in Mt. Pleasant, where the First Abolition Convention is Held.

For many years previous to the rebellion there were few northern counties known so well to the slave of the South as Jefferson county, Ohio. He was constantly hearing stories of his brothers who had escaped and were enjoying freedom through the instrumentality of the people of this county. As early as 1816 what was subsequently known as the "Underground Railway," was organized by people of Smithfield and Mt. Pleasant townships, and slaves escaping from bondage would cross the Ohio and hasten to Mt. Pleasant, confident that they would receive shelter and protection and a help on the way to Canada. It was in 1837 that the first Abolition meeting in Ohio convened in Mt. Pleasant forming the most notable and important gathering, up to that time, assembled to protest against the institution of slavery. There was also established in Mt. Pleasant a free-labor store in which nothing made by slave labor, either in raw material or the finished article, would be sold, but it flourished only ten years. Taking into consideration all these other efforts to free the enslaved negro it is not strange that this county should contain a colony so unique in its original settlement and so fraught with lessons in its subsequent development, that it has scarcely an equal in the United States. A manumitted slave colony was established on McIntyre creek and the place called Hayti in 1829.

In 1825 Nathaniel Benford, of Charles City county, Virginia, liberated seven of his slaves and sent them to Benjamin Ladd, who had come from the same county to Smithfield in 1814. These seven slaves were placed on a farm on Stillwater creek, Harrison county, but soon drifted apart, being employed by the neighboring farmers. Mr. Benford was a Quaker and a man of ability. It was said he was led to this first liberation by the example of David Minge, who resided near him. At the early age of twenty-five Mr. Minge freed eighty-seven of his slaves and sent them to Cuba. One of the stories which the old women of Hayti were always telling was about Mr. Minge distributing a peck of silver dollars to the people on the day the ship sailed for Cuba.

Mr. Benford could not at first make up his mind whether the condition of the slave would be bettered if manumitted. But in 1829 he gave his manumission papers to nine families of slaves on his plantation and provided means of transportation to Smithfield. He had instructed Mr. Ladd as to their disposal and had furnished him the means to carry out instructions. Mr. Ladd purchased for the emancipated slaves from Thomas Mansfield two hundred and sixty acres in Wayne township, about two miles from Smithfield. Mr. Benford had supplied means to put up cabins for the families and to buy farming implements. All this was done by Mr. Ladd in accordance with Benford's wishes.

The heads of the original families were: Nathaniel Benford, who took the name of his master; Ben Messenburg, Collier Christian, Lee Carter, Paige Benford, David Cooper, William Toney, Fielding Christian and Fitzhugh Washington. Nathaniel was sort of a chief in the colony on account of the confidence reposed in him by his master in Virginia. By reason of his large family he received more property, all of which property was divided into parcels of from three to fifteen acres and distributed according to number of children in each family.

The longevity of all the original settlers has been something remarkable. William Toney died at the age of a hundred a few years ago, and even when far advanced in years was a man of imposing stature — well-knit muscles, capable of almost any physical exertion. Fielding Christian was called "Old Fielding," for fifty years, and at his death, fifteen years ago, (1883) the surviving members of the settlement claimed that he was over one hundred and ten. Others died at advanced ages and in so far as known none of the original colonists are now living.

All of the original colonists were known for miles around. Many were gardners who received their instructions from old Benny Messenburg, who displayed remarkable taste in laying out flower plats and had great success in raising vegetables. He had a time for everything and the moon had to be just so, together with certain other favorable circumstances before the ground could be broken or the seed planted. Collier Christian had more than a local reputation as a cook. His face would shine and glisten like a reflector when he saw any one eat heartily and heard him praise his culinary art. Lee Carter was a porter for a long time at the "Old Black Bear" in Steubenville, and told marvelous stories of the people he had met and the consideration paid him. Evens Benford was a huckster. The others were farmers, raising on their own ground what was necessary for their comfort and hiring out to the neighboring farmers for wages to clothe their families. "Old Fielding" was always in demand at every butchering, many people believing that if he did not bleed the pigs the ham or sausage would not brown properly when cooked. The wives of the men were often employed by their neighbors and often their services were invaluable, owing to their faithfulness.

Upon the land given them they attempted at first to raise the crops of Virginia, including tobacco, flax and hemp, but these soon wore out the soil, and afterwards the usual crop consisted of a small patch of corn, oats or rye to be used principally as food for their animals, while the rest of the land, if cultivated at all, was worked by the women, who put in the garden truck. The land was of course originally woodland to a great extent, and had to be cleared. When this was done their knowledge of agriculture was so meagre and their natural indolence so great that much of it soon became grown over with red brush and rank weeds until it became again utterly worthless for their purposes. The negroes were satisfied as long as they could fill their stomachs, and the traits of thrift and energy and faculty for the accumulation of property for a rainy day were so little developed that in the course of time the property became as valueless as when first purchased. With regard to the land itself, originally it was as fertile and as capable of prolific crops as any in Jefferson county. The surrounding farms fully attest this fact. The land had another advantage of being hillside land, all facing east, and taking everything into consideration a better location for their material progress and future success and attaining competency could hardly have been chosen. Accustomed as they were, to the cultivation of the richest land in the valley of the James river, they were especially ignorant of any means of fertilization and of preventing the wear of the virgin soil. Were the property of any value now it would probably be the subject of more complex litigation than the property of the Economite society of western Pennsylvania. It would be the natural result of the uncertainty of title, the marriages and inter-marriages of the original settlers and the complicated transfers which have already taken place.

Among the strange and curious characteristics of the peculiar colony at Hayti, the religious fervor during "bush" meetings and revivals certainly predominated. Although many of the original settlers had very little knowledge of the Bible, what they did know was to them during these meetings, "like honey and the honey-comb." The historical personages being real men and the entire conduct of the ancient Jews worthy of imitation in every respect, their faith in all matters spiritual being unlimited, their preaching and exhortations on some disputed points of modern theology were certainly unique, if not decidedly amusing.

Their experience of struggling with the Spirit — how they forsook the evil of their ways and abandoned their course of wickedness, their warnings to the sinful that they must crucify the man of sin or else forever forego the hope of salvation, were often weird pictures of word painting. They believed in the literal hell of fire and brimstone, locating it often in the centre of the earth, where all who did not reach the city of Refuge through a firm belief in everything their strange and fervid imaginations pictured, would be damned to eternal torture and torment. The music of the singing at the "bush" meetings was nothing like the brilliant noise of the present day, irritating rather than soothing to the nerves, but was truly an adequate expression of their deep and intense feeling.

Those who have never heard the weird and plaintive singing of a large body of negroes in the open air can form little conception of its strange beauty or scarcely comprehend the manner in which they throw themselves into it, body and soul. The hymns were those in the Methodist hymnal, which were lined off in the old fashioned way by the preacher reading two lines and the congregation singing them. But to these hymns they added an ad libitum chorus, each one supplying what to him seemed appropriate to the occasion and the simple meter. Some of these additions might have seemed somewhat irreverent to the refined, and they certainly were so peculiar that they could never have been suggested by any other imagination than that possessed by the negro.

When the grove which adjoins the church was lighted up with torches and fires, the flickering light cast upon the sable and shining countenances, making them look like beings of another world; the pathetic sound of the preacher's voice and the appearance of his body swaying to and fro in unison with the singing words; the loud and fervent ejaculations of the elders; their weird music, sounding doubly strange and plaintive by reason of the surroundings, all formed a picture in the mind that cannot be eradicated. There have been instances during these meeting of members passing into such a state of ecstatic bliss that they fell into a trance, remaining in that condition for hours. So excited did they become at times that their emotions found vent in dancing, and the loud cries of the repentant for help in their conflict and wrestling with the flesh and the devil turned the church into religious pandemonium.

During the revivals in the winter season many have been the jokes played on the congregation. Usually for a week after the meeting all white people were kept out of the church and the doors and windows barred against them. To get even for this some of the young white men of the neighborhood climbed to the roof and stopped the chimneys, literally smoking out the congregation. Every man, woman and child believed the smoke to be a contrivance of the devil who was after some one of them, each thinking he was the fuel designed for the brimstone. On another occasion several of the white boys stole a goose and carrying it to the top of the church waited for the religious fervor to reach its height. An old woman of the congregation began praying in front of the old wood-fire place, calling for "de Spirit ob de Lawd to 'cend right now." Down came the goose and out of the church went the congregation through the door, windows and every other opening they could find, confident that they had been witnesses to a manifestation of the Spirit descending like a dove. This would have been considered a miracle, attracting the devout and believing of the colored race to-day, had not a neighbor in passing the church the next morning seen the windows open and the goose quietly waddling about under the benches, and the illusion under which the poor people were struggling was dispelled.

Several of the eminent colored preachers were born there, among them Rev. John Smith and Wilson Toney, both eloquent men and zealous workers in the Master's vineyard. Those who came from Virginia were mostly Methodists, although the Baptists were a good minority. McIntyre creek has often been the scene of dippings at which many ludicrous incidents have occurred. It may seem strange that none of these negroes were Friends, considering the benefits they received from this religious body, but the quiet, passive way of their worship had no attractions for the boisterous disposition of the negro. There was one, however, Lucy Cardwell, who in practice and in principle was a Quaker, and whose piety and patience under long suffering were made the subject of a long Abolition tract written by Elizabeth Ladd.

Closely allied to the strong religious fervor of their natures was their superstition, a trait which they brought from Virginia, and which was enhanced by the belief in necromancy and a species of voodooism prevalent at McIntyre long before their arrival. Probably there never existed people who had so strong a belief in supernatural powers controlling ghosts and omens as the African race. This may in part be explained from the fact that like all primitive people their imaginations were easily impressed with any story having for a foundation anything wonderful or mysterious, and their poetic faculty of exaggeration would make each repetition something still more wonderful until finally it would be told in whispering tones and with frightened looks as an act of his satanic majesty.

Before the Hayti colonists had left Virginia there were few families for miles around McIntyre who had not their peculiar signs, omens and disasters to be avoided by certain incantations and the intervention of a witch doctor. If they believed that a neighbor had too much knowledge of the black art and was using it to the detriment of others, one favorite way of thwarting his designs was to draw his profile on his barn door and shoot a silver bullet through it. Instances of this witchcraft would fill a longer volume than the history of that at Salem.

Many who laugh at the simple-minded negro in the Hayti settlement on McIntyre creek, would be surprised did they know that their ancestors frequently called to their aid the voodoo doctors to make their cows give milk, fatten their pigs, or drive away the gapes from chickens; and it is even said that there are now living in the county descendants of witch doctors who practiced in the long ago. Without Christie's book[64] it is impossible to separate what was on McIntyre before the negro colonists came and what they brought with them, but it did not take the negroes long to fasten on to every ghostly story and every charm against impending evil and make it peculiarly their own. It is a fact that witchcraft was believed in by the early settlers of this county, but that was a long time ago; and yet as late as 1830 the question of witchcraft was discussed by many of the best people in the county. The negro was not only more ready to believe in the supernatural than the pioneers, but was more loth to give up this belief when it once took hold, no matter how absurd it became to the whites after investigation proved it false. Thus the whites would ridicule notions that they themselves once entertained with much zeal, while the negro would cling to them until they became a part of him. It is this characteristic that makes the negro superstitious, and he is blamed for holding beliefs for which the whites are alone responsible.

For a long time no wealth could hire a McIntyre negro to pass Oak Grove school house after night fall, and he approached it in day time with fear and trembling. They claimed that unearthly lights were often seen flitting about the windows, carried by grinning skeletons and headless figures clothed in white who had nightly orgies, where during the day children went to school. They had a mortal terror of caves and old coal banks, thinking them the abodes of evil spirits. They had a curious superstition connected with abandoned coal banks. They claimed that if a man brought his Bible to the front of the coal mine, built a fire and burned it, at the same time adjuring God, performing a certain walk, and repeating aloud a certain sepulchural incantation, old Nick would come out of the bank with horns, forked-tail and breathing sulphurous flames from out his nostrils, and grant any wish—with the simple provision that the mortal soul would be the property of hell when dissolution came.

The negroes would under no circumstances go out of a different door of a house than by that which they entered, saying it would bring bad luck. They would make soft soap and prepare articles of food only when the moon was in a certain phase, plant turnips only on July 25 and cucumbers before daylight with no clothing on other than a shirt, and then walking backward into the house. In churning, if butter did not come as soon as it should, a vexation known to all farmer's wives, they would bind the outside of the churn with a rope of green grass or drop a heated horse shoe into the sour cream. If the butter did not appear after this they were not perplexed by any means, but would find some fault in the manner in which the churn was bound or in the manner by which the horse shoe was heated.

---

[64] A book said to have been written about 1830 by a Dr. Christie, a copy of which the compiler has made fruitless efforts to obtain, giving account of witchcraft on Cross creek. Doddridge devotes a chapter to witchcraft.

The aged professed to be able to cure any disease to which flesh is heir by means of incantations and by the judicious use of certain herbs, the medical properties of which they alone knew how to extract and apply. Every autumn they would have the roofs of their cabins filled with bunches of herbs and roots which they had the fullest confidence would work wonderful cures. One of their teas had for its chief component part material found about sheep barns, and one of the most efficacious plasters was formed in a large measure of what they put upon cucumber vines to drive away bugs and worms. They had fertilizers for the growth of all vegetables, all of them homely and senseless, and they were constantly assuring their neighbors that they would have no luck if they did not use them.

Their claims of relationship to each other is a peculiar feature, as they recognize the ties of kinship as far away as the forty-sixth cousin. That they are all related some way is probably a fact, as they have been very exclusive in their alliances with families of color outside the settlement. Some of the older members who were rather light in color took great pride in secretly conveying the claim that they traced their paternity to some of the first families in Virginia.

Politically, every man in the settlement votes the Republican ticket, although surrounded by and employed by the strongest Democrats in the county. Next to their religious meeting nothing is of greater interest or of greater importance to them than political meetings. An hour before the time for which the meeting is announced the school house bell rings and all the men, women and children of the settlement, together with their white neighbors, flock to the school house. The speaker arriving, one of their number is chosen chairman, and the fun begins. A speaker not accustomed to them is completely broken up by their peculiar ejaculations of approval or dissent. About sixteen years ago two Republicans went out from Steubenville to address the colony on the issues. The first speaker was John M. Cook, who was not familiar with their peculiarities, was dressed in a tight-fitting suit of blue, and appearing even smaller than he is in stature. Hardly had he begun when he was so badly startled that he almost forgot his speech, by an old darkey opening his mouth like an alligator's and shouting, "God bress de little lamb!" Finishing shortly to make way for the next speaker, the late T. B. Coulter, who bore his three hundred pounds very gracefully, he was still worse put out by the alligator's mouth again opening and exclaiming, "God bress de lion of the tribe of Judee."

The cabins occupied by the colony are to-day in a miserable condition. The land once so fertile and admirably situated for abundant crops is now for the most part stony and sterile. Scarcely any care has been taken to improve it and almost every portion is so overgrown with brush and weeds that it would now be impossible to improve it. The descendants of the original settlers manage to eke out an existence upon it and that is all.

By studying this colony one may perhaps begin to comprehend the great social question that is perplexing the whole South —what is to be done with the African? No better opportunity could have been given Mr. Benford to carry out his original design than was afforded on McIntyre. Taken from a locality where he was a chattel, bought and sold in the market and worth so much, and placed where he could acquire property, develop the powers of his mind, and improve his moral condition, the course of the manumitted slave shows no improvement, rather a deterioration.

No colony could have been better situated, surrounded as it was by people to whom the subject of the amelioration of his condition was almost a mania. Near the colony Benjamin Lundy, the pioneer Abolitionist, began his labors. Born in New Jersey, Lundy at an early age came to Wheeling, where he learned the saddlery trade. About 1821 he established at Mt. Pleasant the first Abolition paper ever published in the United States. It was called the Genius of Universal Emancipation and was printed on the James Wilson press in Steubenville. He would prepare his copy and bring it to Steubenville, working at his trade while the paper was being printed, then taking the package either on his horse or on his back, he would return to Mt. Pleasant, where he would distribute the papers. He also organized the first anti-slavery society at St. Clairsville, in 1815. He has the credit of enlisting so able a worker in the cause as Wm. Lloyd Garrison, whom he met in a cheap boarding house in Boston. Uneducated and of only medium ability, yet such was the force of his character, that his arguments carried conviction on every side. Horace Greely said of him in a biographical sketch that his was one of the most heroic, devoted, unselfish, courageous lives that had ever existed on this continent. The teachings of Lundy, the moral influence of the Friends and the pure democratic spirit of the whites had paved the way for the future success of the settlement, but the members could not appreciate all that had been done for them, nor were they able to take hold of their advantages. On every side they had examples for better efforts and they found among all the whites hands willing to aid them. The future of the McIntyre colony will be no brighter than its past.

Benjamin Ladd's association with Benford in the colony of manumitted slaves on McIntyre was very close, for he was near the ground and gave the colony much personal attention. It was not his fault, and it was not the fault of Mr. Benford that the negroes deteriorated after being freed and given opportunity to labor for themselves. They were given every possible chance—there was nothing wanting outside individual energy and faculty to make successful this philanthropic endeavor.

Mr. Ladd moved to Jefferson county, from Virginia in 1814, and purchased from his father-in-law the farm known as the "Prospect Hill," adjoining Smithfield. In 1817 he erected a building for the purpose, and commenced to pack pork and cure bacon. So far as is known, this was the first enterprise of this kind west of the Allegheny mountains. This business proved successful and was extended from time to time until he had erected four houses on the farm and one at Martin's Ferry. He was not only enterprising, but equally disposed to help others. He was the especial friend of the colored race, assisting many in the flight from slavery. He was a prominent member of the Orthodox Society of Friends and faithfully served the church as an elder, and as clerk of the Ohio Yearly meeting.

XXI.

Some of the Hard-headed Pathfinders Believed in Witchcraft — Witchcraft on Cross Creek and McIntyre — Witch Doctors — A Witch Shot with a Silver Bullet — Witchcraft Mentioned by Doddridge.

Those who have studied ethnology with the western pioneer as a basis, generally arrived at the conclusion that he was a hard-headed, hard-fisted man, never perplexed by superstition to the degree of recognizing superhuman power in his worldly fellows, and yet there were those who believed in witchcraft in Jefferson county nearly a hundred years ago. This is hard to realize, the location being so far removed from Salem, and especially so when we know of the sturdy manhood and steadfast religious spirit of the pioneer fathers of the west. They were men and women of steady habits, of iron frame, with resolution that never winced at danger. As a rule they were adherents of the church, and the advanced stage of religion then obtaining of itself would dispute the truth of the statement that there were believers in witchcraft in Jefferson county, if the fact that they did exist were not verified. But whatever the weaknesses of the pioneer father, we owe him a debt that cannot be paid; he was the beginning of the great western empire that we have from him as a heritage. We owe to his memory the enduring monument that is erected in the minds of the sons on the occasions we take opportunity to study the character of the men who blazed the forest and risked their lives for posterity—that their children might enjoy the fruits of their trials and tribulations--homes of peace and plenty. The man who does not appreciate the sterling qualities of the sturdy manhood and unrelenting purpose of the fathers does not deserve recognition of a worthy progeny.[65] The pathway made by the pioneer settlers was a trail of blood, and the very fact that they made settlements at all is evidence enough of the wonderful force of character with which they were endowed; and to say now that they were weak because there were some who believed in witchcraft is to deny them the very factor of the prowess that made achievement possible.

Rev. Joseph Doddridge devotes a chapter of his "Notes" to witchcraft. To the witch was ascribed the tremendous power of inflicting strange and incurable diseases, of destroying cattle by shooting them with hair balls, of inflicting spells and curses on guns and other things, and of changing men into horses, and after bridling and saddling them, riding them at full speed over hill and dale. Of the wizard who was also abroad in this land in the pioneer days, Doddridge says, they were men supposed to possess the same mischievous powers as the witches; but these powers were exercised exclusively to counteract the malevolent influences of the witches of the other sex. The wizard was known as a witch-master who made public confessions of curing the diseases inflicted by the influence of witches. Doddridge says respectable physicians had no greater portion of business in the line of their profession than had many of the wizards in theirs. He says the first German glass blowers in this country drove the witches out of their furnaces by throwing living puppies into them.

In March, 1883, J. M. Rickey, of Cleveland, related to the compiler several cases of witchcraft in Jefferson county, the exact location being on Dry Fork, near where Cross Creek Presbyterian church now stands, and the time about 1800. Mr. Rickey's father settled there before the timber was cut, when the stock ran out, having a very large grazing range. Mr. Rickey said that when a boy he heard his father and the neighbors talk of witches and ghosts. Even after he had become a large boy there were believers in witchcraft in the neighborhood where he resided, and that was about seventy years ago. The two witches to which Mr. Rickey referred were characteristic and up to the Salem standard. They were both old women—sharp featured, skinny old dames, who lived in seclusion, and perhaps being in their dotage, gave rise to the belief in the untutored minds among the pioneers that they were witches. The name of one was Mrs. Daugherty and the other Mrs. Armstrong, whose descendants probably yet live in the county. Of course they were not witches, but yet as much so as were the witches who suffered torture in enlightened Salem. It was the same thing in effect, for the people believed them capable of witchcraft.

---

[65] Macauley.

When any one in the neighborhood became ill, it was declared that the sickness was occasioned by a spell put upon him in some uncanny way by one of the witches. The people on Cross creek and also in other parts of the county were serious and sincere in their belief in the supernatural power derived from the devil by old women of the neighborhood. When it was announced that some one was ill through the influence of a witch, the whole community accepted it as truth as pure and unadulterated as the Gospel. No amount of reasoning could dispel the superstition. The only way to cure the disease inflicted by a witch, according to the prevalent belief, was to send for the witch doctor, Wm. Johnson, who was supposed to possess power to remove the spell, whether the sick be human or brute. Squire Day, a man who stood high in the estimation of the people, as one of good character and intelligence, was a believer in witchcraft.

"I recollect hearing my father, who claimed to be free from the taint of superstition, and who hooted at the very mention of witches," said Mr. Rickey, "tell of a case of alleged witchcraft practiced on him. He had a very valuable cow which took sick, and getting down, could not rise. All the domestic remedies were without effect, and Squire Day and other neighbors announced that the animal was bewitched, and insisted on sending for Johnson to remove the spell. Finally, to satisfy them, and for the fun he might get out of the incident, he agreed to send for Johnson. The witch doctor arrived in course of time and agreed with Squire Day that the cow was under a witch's spell, and immediately began operations to remove it. He gathered a handful of straw, twisted it into a tight bunch, and after putting salt on it, set fire to it, and after powwowing over the sick animal, said, 'I know the witch and can produce her on the spot.' No one seemed to desire the witch produced and Johnson did not bring her to the sick-bed of the cow; but the cow immediately got up and began eating the straw, which of course was convincing evidence that she had been bewitched and that Johnson was a witch doctor."

Johnson did an extensive business dispelling bewitched stock and his presence was frequently in demand in many parts of the county. He was a smart Irishman and no doubt earned a good living at his profession.

Mrs. Daugherty was killed with a silver bullet. It was the accepted belief that the only way to get rid of witches without contact was to shoot them with silver bullets. Hiram Haynes's family lived in Cross Creek township on a farm adjoining the Rickey place, and several members of his family taking ill, of course it was claimed that they were bewitched. It was then proposed that the witch be destroyed. Johnson having announced Mrs. Daugherty as the one who had put on the spell, one of the Haynes boys cut a silver button off of his grandfather's military coat and made a bullet of it. He drew a picture of Mrs. Daugherty, and, placing it in proper range for a target, got further ready to slay the witch. Others went to the cabin where Mrs. Daugherty resided, for the purpose of watching the result. The belief was that when a picture of a witch should be penetrated by a silver bullet, the original would fall and either die on the spot or be so crippled that her powers would be gone. Haynes discharged his gun, and being near the cabin the aged woman heard the report, and, according to the watchers, fell, as if dead, upon the floor of the cabin. After uttering frightful groans, she was revived to consciousness, but not to power. She was placed upon her bed and died in a few days. And the good but deluded pioneers felt that in her death a spirit of great evil had been removed from their midst never more to trouble and vex mankind. The Haynes children recovered, and of course it was thought as the result of the destruction of the life of Mrs. Daugherty.

"Billy" McConnell was a noted character in the regions about McIntyre creek in the early days and was recognized as having power to break the "spell," as the influence of the witch was called. When the butter would not gather in the churn, he was called in to break the spell, and there are traditions that he always succeeded. When a cow would get down with hollow horn or other disease peculiar to cows, McConnell would be given a chance to bring his wonderful skill to bear.

XXII.

The First Fruit Orchards and Nurseries — Celebrated Apples Originated in the Upper Ohio Valley — Johnny Appleseed Plants His First Nursery in Jefferson County — A Late and Correct Life of the Simple-minded Philanthropist.

Fruit growing in Jefferson county is contemporary with its settlement, for as soon as a clearing was made apple trees were planted, thus making demand for nurseries, which sprung up throughout the Ohio country, the first being planted by Ebenezer Zane on Wheeling Island in 1790, and during the same year Jacob Nessley established one opposite the mouth of Yellow creek, Nessley being the first person in the west to cultivate grafted fruit trees for sale, and on his farm the justly celebrated Gate apple originated. In 1814 Samuel Wood established a nursery in Smithfield township for the production of improved apple trees, while others were established in Belmont county. From these various nurseries were introduced such celebrated apples as "Zane's greening," "Western Spy," originating on the farm of John Mansfield in Wayne township, "Ohio redstreak," from the same farm, "Bently sweet" was first grown in Belmont county, and the "Culp" was originated near Richmond, Jefferson county.

The Wells apple was originated by Jabez Smith, grandfather of Enoch McFeely, who planted the tree on South Third street, Steubenville, just below Slack, about 1817. He was working for Bezaleel Wells at the time and planted the apple for him.

The Golden pippin was originated by Samuel Wood, of Smithfield, who was one of the founders of the Ohio Horticultural Society.

Jacob Nessley, mentioned above as the first person to propagate new varieties of apples in the west, settled in Virginia opposite Yellow creek, in 1785, and during his lifetime cultivated 1,800 acres, half of the land being in orchard. There was no possible market for the fruit and it had to be reduced to liquid form and shipped to New Orleans by boat, and consequently brandy distilleries were ever busy during the season, and this traffic was continued up to at least 1830, perhaps 1840. The Nessley orchards, celebrated to this day, were principally in apples, pears and peaches, Mr. Nessley producing many new varieties of all three. His descendants are numerous, many of them still engaged in horticulture, their orchards being on either side of the river, the most prominent being the Mahons, who are as justly noted for the production of fine fruits as was their ancestor, who brought to bear upon his calling an active brain and enthusiastic interest. The late J. N. McCullough, for years one of the most prominent officials of the Pennsylvania railroad system, was a grandson. Jacob Nessley was a person of vast and varied knowledge along the line of horticulture and was a forceful agent in the devlopment of this science, for science it is, and the memory of no other pathfinder is kept green by more abiding monument than is that of Jacob Nessley, for if to produce two blades of grass where before one grew constitutes a philanthropist, he too was a humanitarian, for he filled the west with fruit trees that stand to-day as monuments ever calling to mind the fact that he was a philanthropist of great degree.

Johnny Appleseed planted his first nursery on George's run in Jefferson county, and his history belongs to Jefferson county. Previous to the celebration of the centennial of Jefferson county, Mr. A. J. Baughman, of Mansfield, Ohio, wrote for The Steubenville Gazette a correct account of John Chapman (not Jonathan), from which an extract is not without interest in these sketches, as his first halt was in Jefferson county.

Chapman was born at Springfield, Mass., in 1775. Of his early life but little is known, as he was reticent about himself, but his half-sister, who came west at a later period, stated that Johnny had, when a boy, shown a fondness for natural scenery and often wandered from home in quest of plants and flowers, and that he liked to listen to the birds singing and to gaze at the stars. Chapman's penchant for planting apple seeds and cultivating nurseries caused him to be called "Appleseed John," which was finally changed to "Johnny Appleseed," and by that name he was called and known everywhere.

The year Chapman came to Ohio has been variously stated, but to say that it was one hundred years ago would not be far from the mark. An uncle of the late Rosella Rice lived in Jefferson county when Chapman made his first advent into Ohio. He saw a queer-looking craft coming down the Ohio river one day. It consisted of two canoes lashed together, and its crew was one man — an angular oddly dressed person — and when he landed he said his name was Chapman, and that his cargo consisted of sacks of apple seeds and that he intended to plant nurseries. After planting a number of nurseries along the river front he extended his work into the interior of the state, through Tuscarawas county into Richland, where he made his home for many years.

Chapman was enterprising in his way and planted nurseries in a number of counties, which required him to travel hundreds of miles to visit and prune them yearly, as was his custom. His usual price for a tree was "a fip-penny-bit," but if the settler hadn't money, Johnny would either give him credit or take old clothes for pay. He generally located his nurseries along streams, planted his seeds, surrounded the patch with a brush fence, and when the pioneers came, Johnny had young fruit trees ready for them. He extended his operations to the Maumee country and finally into Indiana, where the last years of his life were spent. He revisited Richland county the last time in 1843, and called at Mr. Baughman's father's, but as Mr. Baughman was only five years old at the time, he does not remember him. Mr. Baughman's parents (in about 1830-35) planted two orchards with trees they bought of Johnny, and he often called at their house, as he was a frequent caller at the homes of the settlers. The writer's grandfather, Capt. James Cunningham, settled in Richland county in 1808, and was acquainted with Johnny for many years, and he often heard him tell, in his Irish-witty way, many amusing anecdotes and incidents of Johnny's life and of his peculiar and eccentric ways.

Johnny was fairly well educated; was polite and attentive in manner and was chaste in conversation. His face was pleasant in expression, and he was kind and generous in disposition. His nature was a deeply religious one, and his life was blameless among his fellow men. He regarded comfort more than style and thought it wrong to spend money for clothing to make a fine appearance. He usually wore a broad-brimmed hat. He went barefooted not only in the summer, but often in cold weather, and a coffee sack, with neck and armholes cut in it, was worn as a coat. He was about 5 feet, 9 inches in height, rather spare in build, but large boned and sinewy. His eyes were gray, but darkened with animation.

When in Richland county, Johnny lived alone in a little rude cabin. When upon his journeys, he usually camped out. He never killed anything, not even for the purpose of obtaining food. He carried a kit of cooking utensils with him, among which was a mushpan, which he sometimes wore as a hat. When he called at a house, his custom was to lie upon the floor with his kit for a pillow, and after conversing with the family for a short time, would then read from a Swendenborgian book or tract, and proceed to explain and extol the religious views which he so zealously believed, and whose teachings he so faithfully carried out in his every day life and conversation. His mission was one of peace and good will, and he never carried a weapon, not even for self-defense. The Indians regarded him as a great "Medicine Man," and his life seemed to be a charmed one, as neither savage men nor wild beasts would harm him.

Chapman never married, and rumor said that a love affair in the old Bay State was the cause of his living the life of a celibate and recluse, but as such stories are told about every bachelor, they are generally too common and silly to be repeated. Johnny himself never explained why he led such a singular life except to remark that he had a mission — which was understood to be to plant nurseries and to make converts to the doctrines taught by Emanuel Swedenborg. He died at the home of William Worth in St. Joseph township, Allen county, Ind., March 11, 1845, and was buried in David Archer's graveyard, two and a half miles north of Fort Wayne, near the foot of a natural mound, and a stone was set up to mark his grave. His name is engraved on a cenotaph, or one of the monuments erected in Mifflin township, Ashland county, this state, to the memory of the pioneers. These monuments were unveiled with imposing ceremony in the presence of over 6,000 people September 15, 1882, the seventieth anniversary of the Copus-Zimmers-Ruffner massacre.

About a week before Chapman's death, while at Fort Wayne, he heard that cattle had broken into his nursery in St. Joseph township and were destroying his trees, and he started on foot to look after his property. The distance was about twenty miles, and the fatigue and exposure of the journey was too much for Johnny's physical condition, then enfeebled by age; and at the even-tide he applied at the home of Mr. Worth for lodging for the night. Mr. Worth was a native Buckeye and had lived in Richland county when a boy, and when he learned that his oddly dressed caller was Johnny Appleseed, gave him a cordial welcome. Johnny declined going to the supper table, but partook of a bowl of bread and milk.

The day had been cold and raw, with occasional flurries of snow, but in the evening the clouds cleared away and the sun shone warm and bright as it sank in the western sky. Johnny noticed this beautiful sun-set, an augury of the springtime and flowers so soon to come, and sat on the doorstep and gazed with wistful eyes toward the west. Perhaps this herald of the springtime, the season in which nature is resurrected from the death of winter, caused him to look with prophetic eyes to the future and contemplate that glorious event of which Christ is the resurrection and the life. Upon re-entering the house, Johnny declined the bed offered him for the night, preferring a quilt and pillow on the floor, but asked permission to hold family worship, and read, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven," "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," etc.

After he had finished reading the lesson, he said prayers — prayers long remembered by that family. He prayed for all sorts and conditions of men; that the way of righteousness might be made clear unto them, and that saving grace might be freely given to all nations. He asked that the Holy Spirit might guide and govern all who profess and call themselves Christians and that all those who were afflicted in mind, body and estate, might be comforted and relieved, and that all might at last come to the knowledge of the truth and in the world to come have happiness and everlasting life. Not only the words of the prayer, but the pathos of his voice made a deep impression upon those present.

In the morning Johnny was found in a high state of fever, pneumonia having developed during the night, and the physician called said he was beyond medical aid, but inquired particularly about his religion, and remarked that he had never seen a dying man so perfectly calm, for upon his wan face there was an expression of happiness, and upon his pale lips there was a smile of joy, as though he was communing with loved ones who had come to meet him and to soothe his weary spirit in his dying moments. And as his eyes shone with the beautiful light supernal God touched him with His finger and beckoned him home.

Thus ended the life of the man who was not only a hero, but a benefactor as well; and his spirit is now, we doubt not, at rest in the Paradise of the redeemed, and in the fullness of time, clothed again in the old body made anew, will enter into the Father's house in which there are many mansions. In the words of his own faith, his bruised feet will be healed, and he shall walk on the gold-paved streets of the New Jerusalem, of which he so eloquently preached. It has been very appropriately said, that although years have come and gone since his death, the memory of his good deeds lives anew every springtime in the fragrance of the blossoms of the apple trees he loved so well.

XXIII.

Thomas Cole the First American Landscape Artist Reared in Steubenville where his Father Operated a Wall Paper Factory — He gets his Inspiration from the Grand Scenery of the Ohio — He Becomes one of the Most Noted of American Artists — A Steubenville Artist Makes Discoveries that Inaugurated Photography — Incidents in the Early Life of Famous Artists who Lived in Steubenville — Wm. Watkins Related to the Howells — The First Bicycle — Famous Jefferson County Artists now Living.

Jefferson county is the birthplace of Genius. She has given to America some of its most distinguished artists, as well as statesmen and soldiers, scholars and divines.

Thomas Cole, the originator of a distinctive American school of landscape painting, although not born in Jefferson county, received his first impressions and likewise his early inspiration in Steubenville. Contemporary with him, William Watkins, whose artistic genius gave him world-wide fame, lived in Steubenville, and the eye of his time gazed upon remarkable sketches drawn upon board fences and stable doors in the village named for the distinguished Revolutionary officer.

Cole's spark of genius manifested in love of color, was fanned into flame while he lived amidst the grand scenery of the Ohio valley and which has no equal for beauty in the world. The Watkinses, Coles, Ackerleys and Lewises moved to Steubenville about 1819. Their coming did much to elevate the tastes of the pioneer who had no time for cultivating the finer elements of his nature.

Thomas Cole's father lived with his family in the building now occupied by George Floto's confection store on Fourth street. The Beatty mansion wherein the late Alexander and Joseph Beatty were born, adjoined the Cole house, on the corner where now stands the Commercial National banking house. The Coles were a very cultured family, and their influence on the tastes of the people was very marked, and the good impression made by them was lasting.

They had a piano, the only one in all the region. The daughters, Annie and Sarah, who taught a school in Steubenville, would play on the instrument evenings, and it was such a wonderful thing to hear a piano that each evening the listening crowd outside would fill the street from curb to curb and as far up and down the street as the sweet strains could be heard.

Thomas Cole's father was a wall-paper maker, having followed this business in England. On the site of the great Hartje paper mill stood the Cole wall-paper factory, wherein the elder Cole displayed wonderful genius in the manufacture of beautiful wall hangings. He designed the blocks from which the paper was printed, and it was from him that his son inherited his genius. Thomas, who was about nineteen years of age at that time, was a valuable assistant to his father, for even then he was a colorist as well as a fine draughtsman. His first work was on the old fashioned but beautiful decorated window shades, the painting being on specially prepared muslin. He made many sketches of the scenery of this region, and it is said that portions of the landscape of his "Voyage of Life" were taken from sketches made by him on the Ohio river, the scenery being that from Brown's Island to Mingo.

Cole was a sedate young man, caring nothing for the sports of his day, and was never known to be in any of the "scrapes" laid to the door of his contemporaries. He was a member of the Thespian society which gave dramatic entertainments in Bigelow's brick stable at the rear of the present site of the United States hotel. Connected with this stable was Samuel Tarr's pottery. Capt. Devinny was associated with the society as a supernumerary. The last members of this society living were Eli G. McFeely and J. D. Slack. Cole painted the scenery for the stage and became an adept at this art.

While in Steubenville Cole created quite a sensation by appearing on the street on a velocipede—an old fashioned bicycle—propelled by the feet striking the ground. Whenever he rode on this vehicle he would have a large troop of boys at his heels. When he moved away he presented his wheel to Joseph Beatty. It was the first thing of the kind ever seen in Steubenville, and it is no wonder it created a sensation, and no one is surprised to be informed that the small boy ran after it as he would after the gilded show wagon.

Mr. Cole left Steubenville when about twenty-five years of age, going to Zanesville. From there he went to Philadelphia, where through his theater scenery he became recognized as an artist of more than ordinary ability. His means were very limited and some of his patrons sent him to Italy where he had the advantage of a master. Returning to New York he became famous as a landscape painter. He was the original American landscape artist, his school being distinctively American. Most of his pictures were allegorical in which the landscape was prominent as accessory. A copy of his "Voyage of Life" is now in Steubenville, the property of the estate of the late Alexander Beatty, who was a warm friend and admirer of Cole.

Thos. Cole was born at Bolton-le-Moor, Lancashire, England, February 1, 1801, and died at Catskill, N. Y., February 11, 1848. William Cullen Bryant wrote a biographical sketch of Cole and delivered his funeral oration. Bryant says that Cole's father was a woolen manufacturer, who in 1819 established himself in Steubenville, and that the boy was employed as his father's assistant in designing fabrics in a print factory and in making the blocks for the printers. This statement is evidently incorrect, for no printing was done in the woolen factories. "A fine organization and great fondness for poetry and scenery were his chief characteristics," says Bryant. "A portrait painter coming along named Stien fascinated Cole, and he at once with such rude colors as he could command began to paint and was soon able to establish himself as a portrait painter," the only thing lacking being patrons and for them he started on a tramp. It was for this reason, we take it from Bryant's sketch, that he went to Zanesville. He painted landscape sketches about Pittsburg and established himself in Philadelphia as a landscape artist. He was often in financial distress, and was ever willing to do any sort of painting and even ornamented furniture and japanned ware. However, his powers were developing and in the work of those days can be seen "the germ of that rich and harmonious style for which he was afterwards noted." In 1825 he removed to New York. The scenery of the Hudson, says Bryant, called out all his artistic enthusiasm. The pictures he painted there attracted the attention and praise of Durand, Dunlap and Trumbull and from that time, says Bryant in his funeral oration, "he had a fixed reputation, and was numbered among the men of whom our country has reason to be proud." He went to Europe in 1831, where his success was not marked, and on his return to America his friends said of him that he had lost his American spirit which gave his pictures their character before leaving for Italy; but he soon recovered his old-time enthusiasm and regained the good opinion of the critics. His greatest picture was the one, or rather the series of five pictures painted for Luman Reed of New York, called the "Course of Empire," in which are presented, to use Cole's own words, "an illustration of the history of the human race, as well as the epitome of man, showing the natural changes of landscape and those caused by man in his progress from barbarism to civilization, to luxury, to the vicious state, or the state of destruction, and to the state of ruin or desolation." Many of his works were of this character, and included "The Departure" and "The Return," "The Dream of Arcadia," "The Voyage of Life," "The Cross in the Wilderness;" other works are "Home in the Woods," "The Hunter's Return," "The Mountain Ford," and "The Cross and the World."

His biographer says of him: "In all his relations of life his amiability and generosity were engagingly displayed, and to those who could sympathize with his enthusiastic and impressive nature, he especially endeared himself. His life was one of singular purity, and in the latter part of it he manifested a sincere and unostentatious piety." Cole was also a poet and in his papers were found many beautiful descriptions of his paintings in verse of considerable merit, but none of his literary work was ever published. He left a son, Thomas Cole, an Episcopal clergyman, who was living at Saugerties, N. Y., in 1883.

At the time the Coles moved to Steubenville, William Watkins came with his family from either England or Wales. He was employed as a sorter in Wells & Dickenson's woolen factory. One of his sons, Joseph, moved to Coshocton, where he died; another son removed to the wilds of Illinois, where he married an Indian squaw. He returned to Steubenville in after years, bringing with him an Indian boy who attended school in Steubenville. Another son, William, became famous as an artist. Mr. Watkins, the father, built the house recently occupied by the family of Samuel Wilson on Fourth street, and afterwards built the house now owned and occupied by George W. McCook. This last undertaking embarrassed him and he lived in the house without finishing it. He sold it to James Teaff from whom Col. McCook purchased it. He removed to Coshocton, where his son resided, and died there. Young William Watkins, or "Billy" Watkins as he was called, showed remarkable skill in sketching while yet a boy, no doubt getting inspiration from Thomas Cole, of whom he was a pupil. He left Steubenville while still young and located in New York. Before he left he painted a portrait of Ambrose Shaw, brother of the late Mrs. James Gallagher, when he was about four years of age. This portrait is now in the house of Henry K. List in Wheeling. It is a full-length portrait and its excellence gave promise of the artist's great future. While in Steubenville Watkins was employed as a furniture decorator.

In New York Mr. Watkins became noted for miniature portraits on ivory. He went to Europe and there studied under one of the noted masters. In England he became distinguished, his ability being recognized at once, and praise of the critics was lavishly bestowed. Queen Victoria sat to him for a miniature portrait, which of itself would give him fame.

The Howells family came to Steubenville at the time the Watkinses came. Joseph Howells, the father of Wm. C. Howells, was a brother-in-law of William Watkins, Sr., and consequently an uncle of the artist. This also makes the artist and Wm. C. Howells, the editor of The Ashtabula County Republican, cousins. The latter is the father of W. D. Howells, the author.

Alfred Newson, another of Steubenville's early-day artists, was born in the city, but spent the greater part of his life in Philadelphia. Of his parents nothing is known, except that his mother was unmarried. He was a deaf mute. He left Steubenville at the time Cole and Watkins came. In his early days he made many interesting sketches on the board fences which showed the possibilities in the boy that were afterwards developed. His faculties of observation were very keen, and he would see the minutest detail of an object, retaining the impression in his remarkable memory.

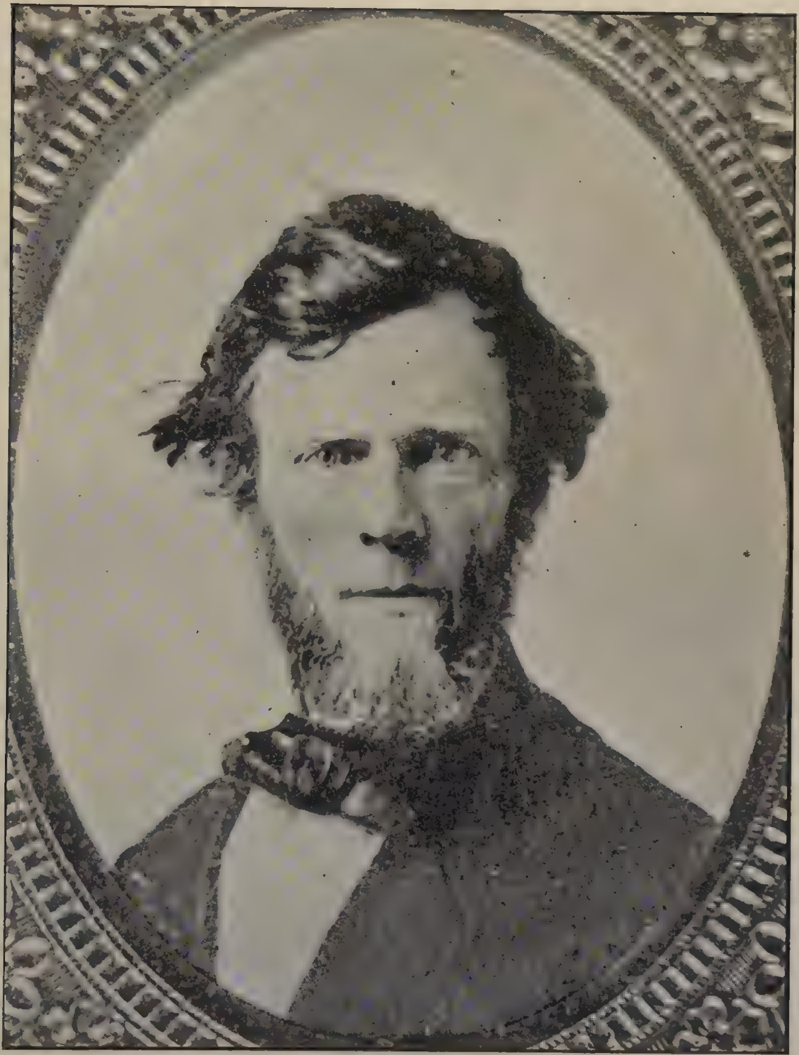
At Philadelphia he entered a large book publishing house where he devoted his talents to illustrating as well as making the engravings. He was known as one of the finest engravers in the country, and many of the books of his day gave evidence of his skill.

Mr. Dickenson of the woolen factory, went to Philadelphia some years after Newson had located there, and calling on the young man, had a long conversation with him in writing. Mr. Dickenson expressed a doubt as to whether Newson knew him, whereupon Newson drew a picture of Steubenville, a perfect plat of the ground as well as of the improvements, not forgetting to draw the defects in the buildings. The drawing was so well done and the proportions of the houses so nearly perfect they seemed to have been made to scale. Another gentleman from Steubenville called to see Newson in Philadelphia years after. During the conversation Newson drew a picture of the gentleman's house so perfectly that is was immediately recognized.

Ezekiel C. Hawkins was the pioneer photographer of the west, or rather the person whose genius and persistent experiments made the present photograph possible, he being the first man in the United States, and maybe the first in the world, to use collodion in the preparation of the glass on which negatives are taken.

Mr. Hawkins was the son of Rev. Archibald Hawkins, one of the pioneer settlers of Steubenville, coming from Baltimore about 1811, when Ezekiel was three years of age. The father built the house on South Third street, now occupied by his grandson, Robert C. Hawkins. The old gentleman was a lay Methodist minister who, during his life here, was very intimate with Rev. Father Morse of the Protestant Episcopal communion.

Ezekiel Hawkins lived in Steubenville until 1829, when he removed to Wheeling. He was contemporary with Thomas Cole and "Billy" Watkins, as Mr. Hawkins called the great artist. He was a house and sign painter by trade, but gave much time to



EZEKIEL C. HAWKINS.

Who made Photography Possible by Discovering the Efficacy of Collodium.

landscape painting and also did some portraiture. His landscape work was very fine and many of the beautiful scenes about Steubenville were put on canvas by him. At the same time he gave his talents to decorating illuminated window shades, an art also followed by Cole.

After he removed to Wheeling he gave most of his time to portraiture, having a camera which would throw upon the canvas a likeness of the "sitter," which the artist could make permanent with his pencil. Here he became acquainted with an artist named Lamden, from whom he received valuable instructions.

Shortly after, about 1840, by correspondence with Prof. Morse, the artist-electrician, and inventor of the electric telegraph, with whom he was intimately acquainted, he learned of the famous Daguerre, the inventor of the daguerre process of picture making. Mr. Hawkins became deeply interested in the new process, and either procured a camera from Mr Morse or made a daguerreotype camera of the one he already possessed. He was the first person to take these pictures west of the Allegheny mountains. They were taken in the open air, the "subject" sitting for fifteen minutes with his face to the sun, and of course with his eyes closed. Although the pictures were taken under such disagreeable conditions they were considered wonderful by the pioneers.

Shortly after Mr. Hawkins engaged in daguerreotyping he procured from France an improved camera with which he could take pictures indoors which would also represent the open eyes of the subject. To have a likeness taken indoors impressed the people with the wonderful invention more deeply than did the crude process when it was introduced. The pictures were looked upon as the greatest achievement of human genius, and it was thought that the acme of man's inventive powers had been attained. In 1843 Mr. Hawkins removed to Cincinnati, where with improved apparatus he continued to take daguerreotypes, and made a great deal of money, but like all men of genius he did not save his means, using them to improve his facilities and to satisfy his ambition along the line of work he had taken up as his avocation as well as vocation. His gallery was the resort of all the prominent artists of Cincinnati, which city had a large share, many of whom became prominent in their chosen field. He took pictures of Henry Clay, whose star was then in the galaxy of greatness, and of other prominent men of the south and west. He was the first person to make daguerreotypes in the Queen City and of course was a prominent figure in Cincinnati at that time. In 1847 he made the picture of Henry Clay which aided Hart to model his famous statue of the father of the tariff system known as "protection." Clay's likeness was taken in four different positions, the pictures being the largest size that then could be made—eight and one-half inches in length. The Clay statue was made for the ladies of Virginia who presented it to the city of Richmond. Mr. Clay traveled about so constantly that without the pictures taken of him by Mr. Hawkins it would have been almost impossible for the artist to have made the model.

During this time Mr. Hawkins with others experimented with photography, he being the first to make pictures of this character in the west. The first negatives were paper, but proved very unsuccessful, it being impossible to get the proper impression on them. The subject was required to sit two or three minutes, and photographs of children could not be taken at all. Experiments resulted in producing glass negatives, but the albumen used was too slow and lacking in density, and it was impossible to procure good prints even after a negative was made. While others had abandoned experiments along this line, Mr. Hawkins, with Mr. Whipple, of Boston, and Mr. Cowden, of Wheeling, continued to work at the problem, feeling that time would solve it. Mr. Hawkins corresponded with these gentlemen, and the three gave to each other the points gained as the experiments progressed. Mr. Hawkins was determined to invent or discover some substance of sufficient density to make good photographs. He knew that such an end was possible and he spent all the money made out of daguerreotyping in experiments made to perfect the photographic process.

Previous to 1847 he and Mr. Whipple simultaneously discovered that collodion was the chemical to use. In experimenting with collodion on the glass plates they discovered that by placing the negative against a dark surface it made a good picture. This was the discovery of the ambrotype, which picture was considered by many as the very acme of camera-portraits, and it soon displaced the daguerreotype. Mr. Cowden, who visited Hawkins at Cincinnati and corresponded with him, being deeply interested in the experiments, now dropped his part and devoted his energies to making ambrotypes, and although not the discoverer, was the first to put these pictures on the market.

Mr. Hawkins, however, was not satisfied with the ambrotype. He wanted photographs and continued his experiments with the collodion until he finally produced good negatives. The credit for the discovery of collodion in photography has been given to Archer of England, who is said to have used it in 1847, but Mr. Hawkins employed it previous to that year and to him should be given the credit. The use of this chemical, or rather Mr. Hawkins's experiments with it, made the present photograph possible. There is no question that Mr. Hawkins made the best photographs of his time.

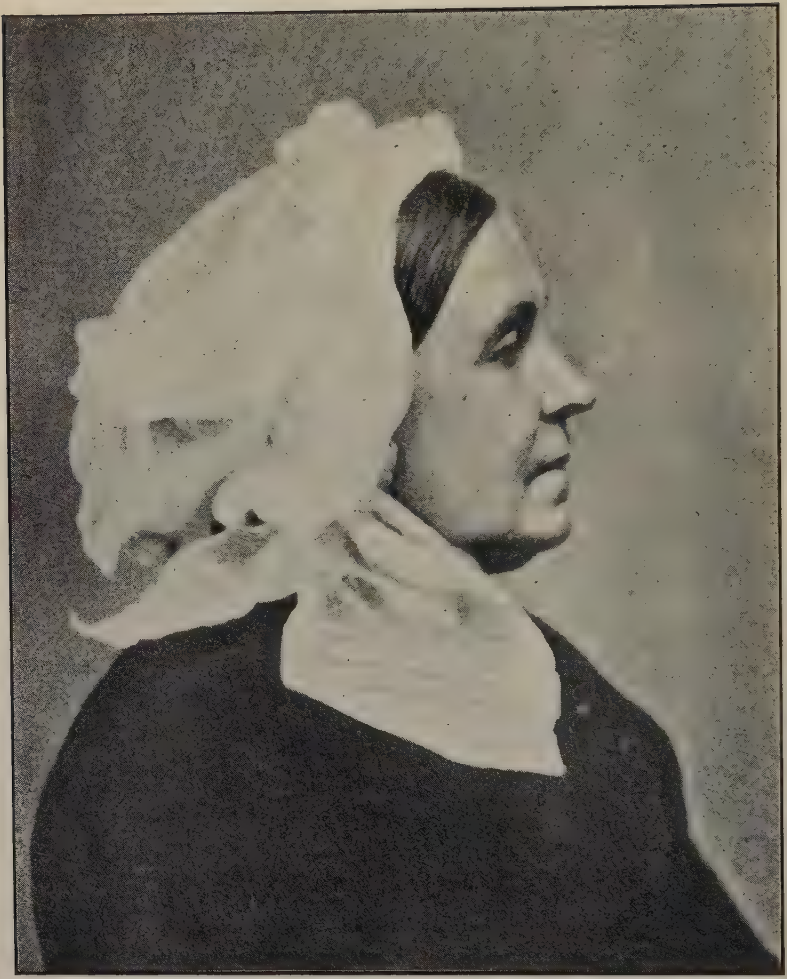
The first "dip bath" ever used was blown in Beatty's old glass works in Steubenville and was the invention of Mr. R. C. Hawkins, nephew of E. C. Hawkins, at which time he was employed in his uncle's gallery in Cincinnati. Previous to this time what is known as the silver bath into which negatives were dipped, was poured into a dish, in which the negatives were placed with the fingers. This was a very crude process, many negatives being ruined by lines across them if the whole plate did not come in contact with the silver instantaneously. Mr. Hawkins's dip bath was the forerunner of the present porcelain bath.

E. C. Hawkins and Billy Watkins were warm friends, and when Watkins returned from Europe in 1852 he located in Cincinnati, selecting a studio adjoining Mr. Hawkins's gallery. He continued to paint miniatures, and colored photographs for his friend as well, making wonderful success in his art. He never permitted any one to look at his paintings from points selected by the spectator himself. He always fixed with his eyes the point from which his work was to be inspected, never taking into consideration the fact that some eyes could see objects at a greater distance than others. He would request his visitor to turn his back to the picture. He would fix himself at such distance and in such position as to get the proper effect to be impressed by his work, then he would have the spectator back up to this point, place him in his own position, and give command for him to turn around. Mr. Watkins died in Cincinnati.

Ezekiel Hawkins died in 1862 after he had gotten himself in position to reap the material benefits of the experiments which had cost him several fortunes. Although crippled by rheumatism and suffering intense pain, his fortitude bore him up, and he worked with that enthusiasm which is born of genius to reach the point he had started out to attain.

Ezekiel's brother, William Hawkins, father of R. C. Hawkins, was also an artist of great ability, his work being along the line of portraiture rather than landscape. Mrs. E. C. Dohrman has in her possession a photograph from a portrait of Mrs. D. L. Collier painted by him in 1835, and he painted a portrait of Mrs. Thos. Hoge, nee Spencer, an aunt of T. P. Spencer, and of E. Slack. This portrait is now in possession of eastern relatives. Mr. Hawkins, Sr., was a decorative artist, his talent being in demand by the manufacturers of fine stage coaches and carriages, all the panels of the bodies being beautifully decorated by means of the brush in his skilled hands. R. C. Hawkins still has in his residence two pipe organs built by his father before he had ever seen an instrument of this nature; making everything in the instruments with his own hands. The tone was all that could have been desired and withal the instruments were almost perfect. All his work manifested wonderful genius and it is said of him that he could produce almost anything that could be produced by hand.

Alexander Doyle, the noted sculptor, whose work adorns many American parks as well as the statue gallery in the United States capital, is a native of Steubenville, as is also James Wilson McDonald, whose works of art are well known. So is E. F. Andrews, who has painted the best portraits of Jefferson, Martha Washington, Dolly Madison and Robert E. Lee, but all these are modern and these sketches are only of the achievements of the pathfinders.



MARTHA LATIMER McCOOK. Photo by Filson & Son

Wife of Major Daniel McCook — the Mother of Soldiers.

XXIV.

Military Record — Sortie at Fort Meigs — Judge Tappan Equips Jefferson County Soldiers for the Second War for Independence — Mexican War — The War Between the States — The McCooks.

The gallant service performed by Jefferson county men in the War Between the States is a proud record in the county's history. They saw hard service in every battle from Bull Run to Appomattox. Jefferson county gave to the country the great War Minister, whose name is burned into the memory of all Americans. Jefferson county could rest her honor on the service of this one man and be sure of an exalted place in the pantheon where heroes live forever. But Stanton is not all. Jefferson county gave the noble Webster, the heroic Shane, and the brave McCooks, father and three sons with hundreds of other heroes as blood sacrifice to a cause which her people believed to be right.

Not in the history of any other war is recorded that two brothers gave to service of a cause the soldiers given to the Federal armies by Major Daniel and Dr. John McCook, both of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish stock, both men of noble bearing and patriotic spirit. Of the major's family there were in service the father, Maj. Daniel, Surgeon Latimer A. McCook, Maj. Gen. Robert L. McCook, Maj. Gen. A. McD. McCook, Gen. Daniel McCook, Jr., Maj. Gen Edwin Stanton McCook, Private Charles Morris McCook, Col John J. McCook, Col. Geo. W. McCook. Of this family Midshipman J. James McCook, died in the naval service before the rebellion, ten in all. The father, Charles, Daniel, and Robert were killed. Of the Doctor's family there were in the service Maj. Gen. Edward M. McCook, Gen. Anson G. McCook, Chaplain Henry C. McCook, Commander Roderick McCook, U. S. N., and Lieut. John J. McCook, five in all, and none killed in the service.

Gen. John Sanford Mason, who died November 29, 1897, in Washington, D. C., was born in Steubenville, August, 1824. He was educated at Kenyon college and at West Point where he graduated in 1847, and was assigned to the Third Artillery. Gen. Mason served in the Mexican War and through the Civil War and was retired August 21, 1888, at which time he was colonel of the Ninth Infantry, U. S. A. He received successive promotions during the War for the Union for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg and in the field generally, and at the close of the war was brevetted brigadier general in the regular army, advancing from the rank of first lieutenant, which he held in the spring of 1861.

Jefferson county having been settled largely by soldiers of the Revolutionary war and their descendants, it was natural that it should furnish a large quota of soldiers for the Second War for Independence, in which war several of the most important battles were fought on Ohio soil. A regiment composed of fourteen companies was organized and in the front, the number of men being one thousand and sixty-five.

The cannon balls used in the Battle of Lake Erie, won by Oliver Perry, who was a Scotch-Irishman of New England stock, his mother being an Alexander, whose great force of character was recognized at the time in the fact that the victory of her son was called Mrs. Perry's victory, were made in a crude furnace by a Scotchman named Grant, near Steubenville, but on the east side of the river, and were conveyed to the lake on pack-mules.

Col. Miller, who was then editor of the Steubenville Herald, commanded the sortie that rushed out of Fort Meigs and won one of the greatest victories of the war by picking off the British gunners and driving files into the touchholes of the British cannon, the most daring achievement of the war, unless we admit the brave and gallant defense of Fort Stephenson by Col. Croghan manifested more valor.

Senator Tappan took a very active part in this war, which is related by Col. W. W. Armstrong in his sketch of this noble citizen of Jefferson county. Tappan was an aid to Gen. Wadsworth, and in 1812 received an order by express on August 2, giving an account of Hull's surrender at Detroit, with the intelligence that the British and Indians were advancing in force down the lake, committing great depredations and directing him to muster the men composing the brigade in Jefferson and Harrison counties and march with all possible dispatch to Cleveland. The order was received on a Sunday morning and notice was given to the soldiers to rendezvous at once at Steubenville, armed and equipped for service. The men came, but many without arms, accouterments or camp equipage. Tappan went to work to provide for them by collecting arms and employing gunsmiths in repairing them, purchasing sheet iron and setting tinners at work to make camp kettles and collected ammunition and provisions for a forty days' service. On Friday after receiving the order he marched out of Steubenville with his men and at Canton he met the militia under Gen. Beall and immediately pushed on to Cleveland, leaving the troops under Col. Andrews to move on to Mansfield and from there to Sandusky. Tappan, in the capacity of aide-de-camp to Gen. Wadsworth, drew up all the dispatches and supervised all the contracts for subsistence. He acted as judge advocate in the case of Gen. Beall, tried for disobedience of orders, but Beall was acquitted. Gen. Wadsworth resigned his command and Mr. Tappan returned home with him.

Steubenville furnished a company, with Geo. W. McCook as captain, for the Third regiment, in the War with Mexico, in which service Capt. McCook was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the regiment.

XXV.

The Fitz Green Halleck-Abbie Flanner Flirtation — Albi Cottage in Mt. Pleasant — The Poem-Letters Written by the Two Gifted Lovers — But they Never Met.

Perhaps the most interesting love episode in the annals of Jefferson county, was the leap-year flirtation of Abbie Flanner, a teacher in Friends seminary at Mt. Pleasant, and Fitz Green Halleck, the poet. The beginning was as if directed by Divine inspiration, the ending so full of pathos that the most austere of the staid Quakers of the village must have been moved to tears by the manifestation of fortitude by this woman of genius, whose sense of honor was so strong, that although she loved him, it would not permit her to entertain the advances of one of America's greatest poets because she herself, in a jest, had opened the way for a proposal. The story was first given to the world by James Grant Wilson, the Scotch-American author, in his Life of Fitz Green Halleck.

Miss Flanner was the daughter of a Quaker preacher who was of the colony from North Carolina. The cottage in which they lived was christened "Albi Cottage" by Miss Flanner, and still stands near the Friends' meeting house, but it is not now, as when she lived, embowered in vines and flowers—when she set the heart of the bachelor poet aglow with the warmth of love by the fire of her genius. She was not a beautiful woman; those who knew her say she was very homely, but was possessed of a superior mind and her intellectual qualities, her brilliancy, her marvelous conversational powers, made her the very queen of the circle in which she moved. The beginning of the story that had such a pathetic ending, was a challenge at a leap-year party held in the village as the year 1835 passed into the nevermore. During the merrymaking it was suggested that the ladies present avail themselves of the leap-year privilege and open correspondence with men noted in literature, among the named being Fitz Green Halleck. As if moved by supernatural influence, Miss Flanner left the party and ran rapidly over the snow that glistened in the moonlight, to Albi Cottage, where without a moment's hesitation she wrote the proposed letter in rhyme, and sent it by post to Halleck:

NEW YEARS NIGHT.

THE MERRY MOCK-BIRD'S SONG.

O'er fields of snow the moonlight falls,
And softly on the snow-white walls
  Of Albi Cottage shines;
And there beneath the breath of June
The honeysuckles gay festoon
  And multiflora twines,

And forms a sweet embowering shade,
Pride of the humble cottage maid,
  Who now transformed and bold,

Beneath the magic of a name,
Those equal rights presumes to claim,
Rights urged by young and old.

And who is she, to fame unknown,
Who dares her challenge thus throw down
Low at the feet of one
Who holds a proud, conspicuous stand
Among the magnates of the land,
The Muse's favorite son?

As when she roamed, a careless child,
To pluck the forest blossoms wild,
Oft climbed some pendant brow
Or rock or cliff, to gather there
Some tempting flower that looked more fair
Than all that bloomed below.

So now, like Eve in paradise,
Though numerous offerings round her rise
Of love and friendship bland,
With many a sober blessing fraught;
Would give them all for one kind thought,
One line from Halleck's hand.

Like that fair plant of India's fields
That most when bruised yields
Its fragrance on the air,
Such is the heart I offer thee,
Pride of my country's minstrelsy!
Oh, is it worth thy care?

She signed this Ellen A. F. Campbell, including her own initials in the name of Scott's Lady of the Lake. With what restless anxiety she awaited the slow mail none but a woman's heart can know. But at last the hoped-for packet came, inclosing the following poem:

TO ELLEN.

THE MOCKING BIRD.

The Scottish border minstrel's lay,
Entranced me oft in boyhood's day:
His forests, glens, and streams,
Mountains and heather blooming fair:
A Highland lake and lady were
The playmates of my dreams.

it is 2:10 in the afternoon now,—and you, who would continue the climb realize that there is no returning for you save by that miserable ferry into Kentucky and then the railway ride on that side, later on.

Disheartened, you continue to the attack of the hillside. In a little garden hundreds of watermelons and nutmegs are ripening, and tempt you to purchase and taste. Squares of olden time, cheap frames trend away here, hardly a one but hid its slaves in its time. At a cross street the old trail to the top has its start here,—huge, foot-wracking boulders, being set in the weeds be-

The Start of the Trail and the Old Slave.

neath thorny acacia tree. An old negro of the village loiters in the shadows,—Henry Hoster his name, "an' it please you sir". —He and two or three others fled to the Union army when they were recruiting at Maysville, during the War, and thus he obtained his freedom.

A picturesque darky town is encountered at this point. Out before the negro shanties, piccaninnies crow in their cradles. A quaint old church of brick too rises from the trees. Grass grown, what was once a highway leads across, flanking small gardens, edged with corn.

Raising the Light.

But, you're already feeling the results of the climb plus the heat and the elevation. Your heart is beating wild and as you come to the fourth cross-street you stop,—for excuse that you'd look back at the river and the church towers you're about level with. Sweltering as it is, there were just such days when slaves dashed hot-footed up this same hill.

Your way, though, is blocked by the topography of the hill-

Ohio, to hail its approach." In closing the letter she said that when he is in "fashion's crowded hall," or listening to the "tramp of deathless fame," she would claim one thought.

"But when the busy crowd is gone,
  And bright on the western sky
The changeful sunset hues are thrown—
  Oh! wilt thou thither turn thy eye
And send one gentle thought to her
  Whose spirit ever turns to thine,
Like Persia's idol worshipper,
  Or moslem to his prophet's shrine?"

"The correspondence continued throughout the year," it is learned from Wilson's account of the flirtation, "growing more and more interesting. The gay badinage ceased, and was succeeded by earnestness on both sides. Though still preserving her incognita, and shielded by her assumed name, we find the lady growing timid as the poet grows ardent in his protestations of admiration and esteem. At one time she says, 'Every step I have made in your acquaintance has increased my timidity. With a reckless laugh I flung my first offering on the current of accident, little thinking it would bring me back tears and smiles, anxious thoughts and fevered dreams.' Toward the end of the year she intimates that the terms of her privilege will soon expire and that the correspondence must close. The poet replies, urging its continuation, and speaks of the happiness it has afforded him, and the desire to know her personally. To this she replies: 'I certainly did suppose I had written to Mr. Halleck for the last time; but you know before I confess that I am too happy to be convinced by your profound logic, that it is not only my privilege but my duty to respond. Your witty assumption of your extension of privilege has delivered my woman's pride from the bastile of a word, for whose adamantine bars, perhaps, I have not shown a proper respect.'

"After the interchange of a few more letters the poet announces his intention of seeking the home of his fair correspondent, and meeting face to face the lady whom, as 'Ellen Campbell,' he had learned so highly to esteem. This proposal filled Miss Flanner with dismay. Remembering she had commenced the acquaintance, she reflected that a tacit agreement to the poet's wish would place her in the character of a wooer. An ardent admirer of Halleck's poems, nothing could have afforded her more pleasure than to have met him, but under the circumstances she felt that she must not encourage his coming. Her reply was posted at Washington, whither she had sent it in care of a relative and to that address the poet's subsequent letters were sent.

"She absolutely refused him a personal interview, and succeeded in eluding his attempts to find her. She felt that with an interview all the illusion would vanish; that he, who had been accustomed to the flatteries and attentions of the high-born and high-bred and jeweled daughters of fashion, in their gorgeous robes and magnificent palaces, could not tolerate her plain Quaker simplicity and lowly surroundings, and she—all unwisely—preferred that he should be her idol at a distance, that she loved to worship, and she to him an 'Ellen of the mind'—'A being of the air.' They never met."

Miss Flanner afterwards married a Mr. Talbot and resided in Mt. Pleasant for years, but at her death, September 9, 1852, she lived in Parkersburg, W. Va., but her remains lie buried in Short Creek meeting house graveyard. No stone marks her last resting place.

Miss Flanner's brother, Dr. Thomas Flanner, during the prevalence of cholera in 1832, was practicing medicine in Barnesville, and being near the scene of the ravages of the disease, was sent by the state to Wheeling to investigate with the view of discovering its cause. He fell a victim, and his remains were interred in the old Quaker graveyard in Mt. Pleasant. His brother William, also a physician, erected a marble monument eight feet in height over the grave, but the committee having the graveyard in charge tore it down in the night season by force, it being a rule that no monument should be erected higher than eighteen inches, and of no more costly material than sandstone. The doctor replaced the monument, and it was again thrown down by force. He erected it the third time and placed armed watchmen in the graveyard, and the monument stands to this day.

APPENDIX.

REPORT OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL OF THE ERECTION OF JEFFERSON COUNTY AND FOUNDING OF STEUBENVILLE.

THE CENTENNIAL OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.

The centennial of the formation of Jefferson county and founding of Steubenville was celebrated in the city of Steubenville, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, August 24, 25 and 26, which was participated in by a large number of people, mainly former residents who returned to their old home for the occasion.

The celebration noted a century gone since the founders builded better than they knew — a hundred years of development and achievement — a century that has marked greater progress in the march of civilization, in the advancement of science, in invention, in industry, in art, in all things that have added to the forces in the hands of man, than had been made in all the centuries since the birth of Christ. It was a celebration of the achievements of the fathers who made the wilderness blossom as the rose — a celebration that called to mind the achievements of all these hundred years; the story of the performance — the triumph over the savage, the subduing of the wilderness, the building of the home of peace, the erection of a great commonwealth and populous communities.

Credit for the organized effort that led up to this grand celebration is due the Bezaleel Wells Historical Society, which was formed with this object in view; but not only this, it has gathered data of history to which those who celebrate the second centennial will fall heir, and rejoice that this organization was more thoughtful than the pioneer fathers along this line. The Wells Historical Society, officered by David Filson, president; Joseph B. Doyle, recording secretary; W. H. Hunter, correspond-

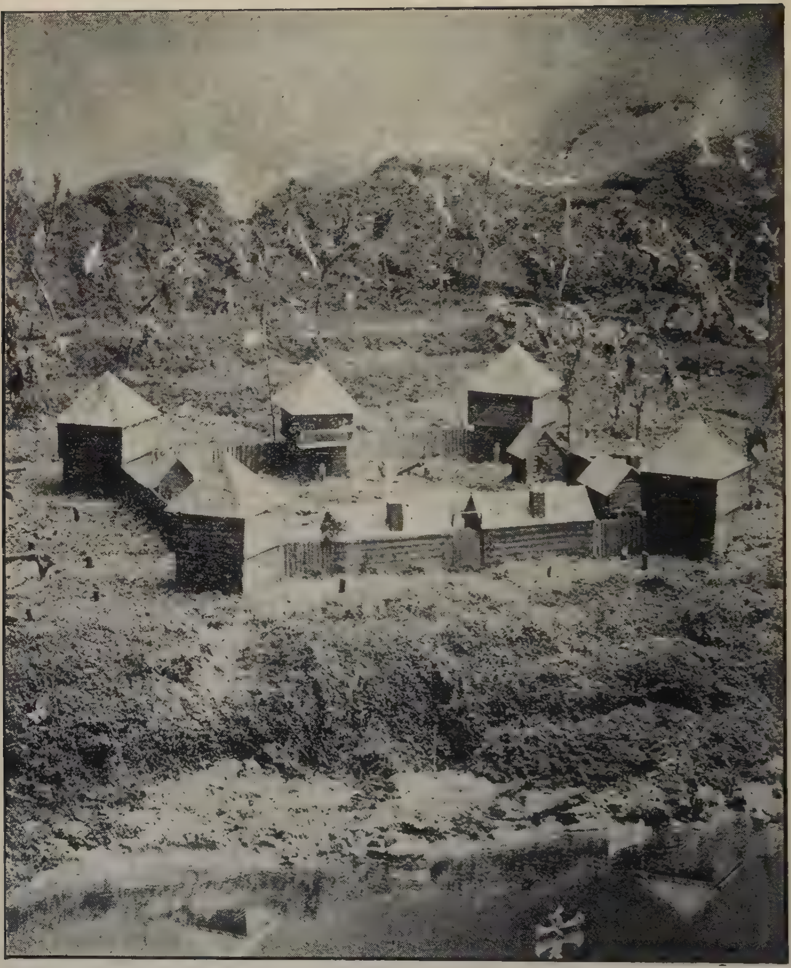


Photo by Filson & Son.

FORT STEUBEN RESTORED BY C. P. FILSON.

ing secretary; Rev. Dr. A. M. Reid, vice-president; D. J. Sinclair, treasurer; Winfield Scott, E. Crawford, G. W. McCook, R. E. Roberts, A. C. Ault, Chas. Gallagher and Frank Stokes, trustees, has been faithful to its trust and out of it grew the movement whose climax marks an epoch in the history of a great people, and is here recorded.

George W. McCook was made president of the centennial organization; Chas. Gallagher vice-president, D. W. Matlack secretary, Frank H. Kerr corresponding secretary, and D. J. Sinclair treasurer. An executive committee was selected as follows: Geo. A. Maxwell, chairman; Robert McGowan, J. J. Gill, S. Laubheim, Hugh McGinnis, C. H. Steele, Winfield Scott, Wm. Vermillion, D. U. McCullough. Other members of the general committee were: J. M. Cook, W. B. Donaldson, H. N. Mertz, H. H. McFadden, Isaac McCullough, G. B. Boren, R. E. Roberts, J. T. Hodgens, E. M. Crawford, Chas. Waddel, John Underwood, J. D. Rothacker, R. M. Crabbs, I. N. Croskey, S. Z. Alexander, R A. Bryant, David Simpson, C. H. Stoll, S. B. Taylor, John Francey, J. A. Mansfield, J. B. Doyle, Davidson Filson and J. F. Oliver, Wm. Riley, Thos. Sharp, Wm. Winters, and C. N. Brown.

Sub-committees were organized as follows, the chairmen largely constituting the general meeting, which was held each Monday evening for six months:

Ladies' committee — President, Mrs. D. J. Sinclair; secretary, Dr. Nettle Erskine; treasurer, Mrs. Dr. John Pearce; vice-presidents, Mesdames T. B. Wright, Ida Elliott, V. McEldowney, W. R. Zink, John M. Cook, Miss Jessie McKee.

Military — Dr. John Pearce, chairman; A. C. Blackburn, W. F. Ridgley, J. F. Oliver, R. G. Richards, Chas. Gallagher, J. D. Porter, James Lavery, B. N. Lindsay, J. F. Sarratt, E. H. Sprague, John Stewart.

Stanton Memorial — H. G. Dohrman, chairman; H. L. M. Doty, corresponding secretary; W. C. Bracken, J. B. Doyle, H. B. Grier, H. H. McFadden, R. J. Morrison, J. F. Oliver, Dr. A. M. Reid, T. M. Simpson.

Log Cabin — J. C. Ault, chairman; B. H. Maxwell, C. P. Filson.

Invitation — J. L. Means, chairman; R. G. Richards, Dr. A. M. Reid, Judge J. A. Mansfield.

Advertising — Sig Laubheim, chairman; Frank H. Kerr, H. G. Dohrman, W. M. Trainer.

Transportation — J. M. Reynolds, chairman; G. A. Maxwell, G. W. McCook.

Program — Chas. Gallagher, chairman; G. A. Maxwell, G. W. McCook.

Printing — W. H. Hunter, chairman.

Finance — Robert McGowan, chairman; J. J. Gill, Thomas Johnson, Chas. Gallagher.

Educational — H. N. Mertz, chairman; Dr. R. Laughlin, Rev. W. B. Irwin, Dr. J. C. M. Floyd, Rev. Father Hartley, Rev. Father Thompson.

Church History — Dr. A. M. Reid, chairman; Rev. W. B. Irwin, W. H. Hunter.

Decoration — Dr. B. J. C. Armstrong, chairman; Edward Nicholson, D. J. Sinclair.

Bureau of Information and Public Comfort — W. M. Trainer, chairman.

Fireworks — F. C. Chambers, chairman; Robert McGowan, C. S. Moony, Homer, Permar, James Moody, Charles Caldwell, Charles Irwin, Harvey Smith, John Saulters, Fred Kaufman, Wm. Kaufman.

Soliciting — Joseph Basler, chairman; Jos. P. Bickar, B. W. Mettenberger, Chas. McConnaughey.

The committees worked hard to make the celebration worthy the occasion. The beautiful decorations bore testimony to this. The decorations were not only beautiful — they were profuse. The log cabin vied with the public building, the cottage was in harmony with the palatial residence, with the result that bunting and flags — the red, white and blue, were everywhere. In many cases the decorations represented expenditure of much time and money. The city was in its gala day attire. Never before in its history had Steubenville been so beautifully arrayed. The smooth, paved streets were clean, the magnificent shade trees were at their best, the beautiful open lawns had been mowed, and the people themselves were dressed for the great occasion.

There were portraits of Jefferson, the statesman, of Steuben, the soldier and patriot, of James Ross and Bezaleel Wells, the founders and capitalists; of Stanton, the most noted son of Steubenville — they were everywhere. The words "You are welcome," were at every portal, at every door, at every gate, and the words were expressed with that sincerity that comes of true hospitality. The speakers' stands in La Belle park and at the front of Stanton's birthplace were buried in the tri-colors, Old Glory floated from Fort Steuben, while the site of the old land office could almost be recognized by the decorations. There were four triumphal arches spanning streets, which added much to the imposing spectacle.

During the celebration a brigade of the 17th Infantry, U. S. A., Col. L. M. O'Brien, and the 8th regiment of infantry of the O. N. G., Col. C. V. Hard, were encamped on Pleasant Heights. A brigade of the Naval Reserves from Toledo, Lieut. Com. Myer Greenland, was also camped in the city. All of these participated in the parades. Duquesne Greys, of Pittsburg, Capt. W. L. Adams, commanding; Washington Infantry, of Pittsburg, Capt. E. R. Geilfuss, commanding; Sheridan Sabres, Wilkinsburg, Pa., Capt. L. M. Eagye, commanding, also participated in the parades.

STANTON DAY.

Tuesday morning at ten o'clock, the exercises of the day opened at the opera house, with Capt. John F. Oliver master of ceremonies. There was a fair audience of school children and others, who had gathered to hear Dr. W. H. Venable's address on Ohio Men and Ohio Ideas. After an invocation by Rev. E. W. Cowling, rector of St. Stephen's parish, and lately from the mother state of Virginia, the home of Jefferson, Mr. D. W. Matlack, principal of Stanton grammar school, introduced Prof. Venable, of Cincinnati, one of the most distinguished of Ohio's educators, who spoke as follows:

ADDRESS BY PROF. W. H. VENABLE, LL. D.

Ladies, Gentlemen and School Children:

On the Fourth of July of the present year the passengers in a tourist car, while crossing the Mohave Desert, celebrated the national anniversary by singing patriotic songs. The voice which rang most clearly was that of a school-boy, going with his parents from Columbus to a new home in Los Angeles. The lad cherished two pets from his native Ohio, a caged bird and a tiny Buckeye tree. In spite of the parching heat and killing alkaline dust of the plain, the staunch plant, carefully watered in the flower pot which protected it, added a green inch to its ambitious top, during the journey from Chicago to the Colorado. "I will be the first," shouted the boy, "to climb this tree when it grows big, in California."

That boy from Columbus, singing on his way to the far southwest, with his bird and his Buckeye tree, and his confident hopes of growth and great doing, typifies the Ohio man and his prevalence. New York and Chicago each has a powerful Ohio Society, and every state and every city in the Union feels the presence of Ohio men and the influence of Ohio ideas. The widespread recognition of this predominance was evidenced by the remark of a barber on the Pacific coast to an Eastern stranger: "Ohio," said the barber, "is a noted state. She is noted for runnin' out big men." Then, after a pause, the professor of shaving added the information: "McKinley is from Ohio." To be a Roman, in the day when the empire was flourishing, was to be a man respected because of his distinguished citizenship. The chief captain who had bound St. Paul, not knowing his nativity, said unto him, "Tell me, art thou a Roman?" He said, "Yea. I was free born." The chief captain was afraid after he knew Paul was a Roman, and because he had "bound him." The passage is sublime, showing the dignity of the individual sustained by the mere name of his native state.

The expression, "He is an Ohio man," derives potency not because a nation's sword flames to guard every Buckeye who goes abroad, but because our state, its people and its principles are assumed to be enlightened and beneficent. Ohio and Ohio's sons and daughters represent the best civilization and the best ideas thus far attained in America. This is said not in boast, but in grateful acknowledgment of what the present generation owes to the past.

What is an Ohio man? Why do Ohio ideas prevail? What is distinctive in the character of our state? How comes it that the buckeye which you carry in your pocket not only cures rheumatism and keeps off witches, but admits you to the private boxes of the world's theatre and insures you luck in the lottery of fortune? What is the reason that we boys and girls are peculiarly happy to have been born between Lake Erie and the Ohio river, and are especially vain if born in a Buckeye log cabin and rocked in a sugar trough? Surely not because a log cabin is intrinsically better than a palace of marble, or a sugar trough more comfortable than a satin-lined perambulator with a silken sun-shade. No, our pride of local birth has an origin which antedates both cabin and cradle. We inherit a pride derived from ancestors born in the pavilion of liberty and rocked in the cradle of the Revolution.

Well-founded state pride intensifies national patriotism. The British soldiers camped in a Crimean valley all sang Annie Laurie, but each heart recalled a different name. Wherever the American veteran may be when he hears the familiar hymn, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," though, as a patriot, he thinks first of the Union and the common flag, his heart quickly recalls a favorite state, of whose rocks and rills and woods and templed hills his memory forever sings. As family pride fosters self-respect and ambition in sons and daughters, city and state pride stimulate laudable activity in corporations and individual citizens. Perhaps the chief elements of the working energy which made the World's Fair at Chicago so great and magnificent were derived from state pride — from the friendly rivalry among the many which make up the one.

E pluribus unum is a phrase which requires small Latin to translate. The babe in the kindergarten can render it. From many, from about fifty states and territories, a union is composed, a unit, one, the United States of America. But each of the many is also one, complete in itself, yet only a part of the greater one. Each part, however, is not an equal fiftieth of the whole. Some states are large; others little; some have a grand history, others are scarcely remarkable in the annals of the world. Recently I conversed with the daughter of John Brown, of Ossowotamie — old John Brown, whose soul goes marching on. The daughter of the man who saved Kansas placed in my hands a cavalry rifle, a "Border-Ruffian," she called it, "which had quickly changed its politics," a weapon captured from a slave-holder who had used it to shoot Abolitionists. That fire-arm was eloquent. It told the story of bleeding Kansas, a state known to everlasting fame. Doubtless there are educated persons in this audience who cannot name all the state capitals, perhaps cannot name all the states and territories, without book. But who has not heard of Massachusetts, of Virginia, of New York? Who in the wide world has read no eulogy or heard no rumor of Ohio? What is the value of the state taken as a fraction of the nation, Ohio the numerator, the Republic the denominator? Surely the ratio is vastly greater than one to fifty. The extravagance of some editors and orators appears to assume, indeed, that Ohio divided by America is what arithmetic styles an improper fraction, a part greater than the whole.

A lunatic author in a western village submitted to a literary critic a manuscript book entitled, "What God Almighty was Doing Before He Created the World." The human mind, sane or crazy, has a tendency to seek antecedents, causes, original conditions. Before men created Ohio the state, nature prepared Ohio the primeval wilderness, with its hills and plains, rivers and lakes, woods and meadows, minerals, plants, animals. Those pioneers who first spied out the land were delighted with its natural resources and described it as the finest region in the world for settlement and cultivation. The lands chosen by the founders of Marietta, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Steubenville, were most eligible for the purpose of agriculture and commerce. A beautiful river on the south, a majestic lake on the north, afforded large opportunities to navigation. Stone and timber and fresh water were abundant. No part of the country was inaccessible to industry. The summer was not too hot nor the winter too cold for human endurance. Here was nature's garden spot to be perfected by man's science and art. Families flocked to the virgin wildwood. Trees fell. Towns sprang. Fields were tilled. Boats and wagons were taught to fetch and carry. Canals were dug. Then railroads were stretched across from east to west, the endless trunk lines which have poured wealth into our great cities and connected Ohio with the world. Manufacture joined with her sisters, agriculture and commerce, to bless the Buckeye state with all material products in richest abundance. Such are the natural advantages of Ohio. Physical geography encourages, almost compels, the thrifty inhabitant to prosper. The surface which he ploughs, and the strata which he mines; the water courses which fertilize his crops, or float them to market; the airs which play through his orchards and billow his golden harvest fields; and the sun in heaven, "like God's head," combine and co-operate to favor the Ohio man.

Nature's genial forces may conspire to aid human beings, the Creator may afford the creatures good physical opportunities, but soil and climate alone can never produce a superior race or a noble man. Heroic peoples and admirable governments have been developed on sterile mountains and barren plains. It is moral force which removes mountains and reclaims deserts. Ideas, convictions, principles, character, conduct and not chance or circumstances, build states and give them renown.

Ohio is famed, as the barber put it, "for running out big men." But what is a big man? You all recollect Sir William Hamilton's "There is nothing great in man but mind." This the framers of the Ordinance of '87 regarded as practical truth, and the very soul of the body of law which organized Ohio, is the clause which provides for the education of the whole people. There are countries professedly free in which liberty is only a name. There are states in which the free school system exists as a perfunctory institution, but which are actually indifferent to, and, therefore, neglectful of the intellectual and moral needs of the young.

But in Ohio popular education means something — means almost everything. True, our legislature cares less than it should for the mechanical forms and appliances of the system. Our public does not trouble itself whether the township or the district be the unit of school organization, whether or not we have county supervision, state normal schools, new methods of construction; but the popular feeling everywhere demands that the boys and girls have a good schooling, a better bringing up than their parents had, if not by the regulation pedagogical machine, then by hand, any way, provided they learn to do something with their learning. A favorite Ohio idea is crystallized in that saying of Garfield: "A log in the woods, with Mark Hopkins seated on it, is a great university."

To the average conception in Ohio, education is a tangible good, a necessity, not a luxury, a part of one's working capital, like money and land and tools, a staple without which families cannot keep house. Hence the commonwealth is peppered and salted with schools, academies and colleges, and sugared with sweet girl graduates. On the question of woman's right to equal education with man, Ohio is sound. Our claim is that the co-education of the sexes in college was inaugurated in this state, and that co-education is an original Ohio idea. So is the idea of giving the colored race a fair opportunity, by founding such a university as that of Wilberforce. Yes, the "nigger" has a chance in Ohio. The city of Dayton produced the first noted African poet, my friend, Paul Dunbar.

The Chautauqua movement was initiated by the generosity of an Ohio man, Miller, of Akron, who supplies Dr. Vincent with means of carrying his great plan into practice. Emphatically, the greatest of all Ohio ideas is that of making good the promise of the wise ordinance, by inculcating, by means of church and school, the fundamentals of "liberty, knowledge, morality and religion." And the "biggest men" whom the state has "run out" or kept in, have been those versed in the theory and trained in the practice of liberty, knowledge, morality and religion.

If there be any secret of success to account for the conspicuous achievements and reputation of so many Ohio men who have risen from humble to high station, half that secret is told in the tremendous fact that the state has more teachers, more children in school, and spends more money for school purposes than any other state in the Union. Very happily did Coates Kinney state the exact truth in fine poetry, when he wrote:

> "Our learning has not soared, but it has spread;
> Ohio's intellects are sharpened tools
> To deal with daily fact and daily bread.
> The starry peaks of knowledge in thin air
> Her culture has not climbed, but in the plain,
> In whatsoever is to do or dare.
> With mind or matter, there behold her reign."

Not only, then, because Ohio ranks first in value of quarry products, value of farm lands, manufacture of agricultural implements; not only because, in the long list of states she stands next to the first in iron and steel, petroleum, natural gas, number of farms, and miles of railroad; not only and not chiefly for these evidences of material supremacy, do we rejoice in our heritage of citizenship. These gifts of nature and results of industry are indeed the physical basis of higher mental achievements. Farms more valuable than those of any other state! Think of that! Farm implements to occupy millions of working hands! And railroads to transport everything and everybody everywhere, and bring the rest of the world and its people and products to Ohio! Yet not so much for its output of things is the Buckeye State pre-eminent as for its product of men. It is distinguished for raising stock — human stock. Our best industry is not agriculture but homoculture. Our royal roads are not railroads but paths to the schoolhouse and the house of God. But the college degree and the church communion, the Ohio man cares for as means, not ends. Having made a man of himself he can do a man's duty in any sphere, can make a living, can make money, can make machines, speeches, books, can find the road to Washington, can lead armies, can do a big citizen's big work, can materialize and mobilize Ohio ideas into deeds.

An inscription over an ancient sacred gate reads: "Be bold! Be bold! Be not too bold!" Trust, trust — trust not too much in aids of any kind. Education is good, but he who depends altogether or mainly on the helps which schools can render, will be disappointed. The teacher cannot make, nor the preacher save, an inert soul. Why do we go to school, asks a wise man, but that we may not need always go to school? Alma mater is a nursing mother, yet what a booby-baby he who sits on her lap forever. Academic training is at best an apprenticeship, not a mastery. Stuart Mill makes a clear distinction between education under professors and self-education — the self-education that is post-graduate. How can a scholar become an efficient man not being "Tried and tutored in the world?" Men may gather grapes from thistles. Ohio has produced men who, without the advantages of collegiate or even of common school education, took fast hold of such chances as were left them, studied the curriculum of experience and went up head in the world, above a long class of competitors with A. M. and Ph. D., attached to their names. These successful men missed college, missed helpful degrees, but did not miss education. Lincoln said the Civil War developed him. Browning said, "Italy was my university." He who is docile, resolute and industrious, whether in school or out of school, will attain. Time is an important factor. Time and labor accomplish the impossible.

"The world belongs to those who come the last," sang Longfellow. The young are bi-millionaires because they have so large a capital of time and strength. "Youth is the time for toil," said Goethe; and Emerson wrote, "Work is Victory." Only when a man perceives the "abhorred approaches of age," does he understand how true it is that life has only one springtime, one seed time, and that no harvest can be gathered where no field has been tilled, no harvest except, perhaps, a thin crop of wild oats. These reflections are commonplace, I know, hackneyed and old and homely, but how true! The boys and girls own the Klondike mines, and need not go to Alaska to work them. Here in Ohio are Eldorado and the Golden Gate. Not lo! here, nor lo! there, but within the man is the kingdom of success.

There is a wonderful poem called "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came." Roland is journeying to seek he knows not what fortune, over a seemingly boundless plain. He plods wearily on and on, yet the wide reaches of drear level stretch away to the horizon, and the pilgrim thinks himself "just as far as ever from the end." But Roland was deceived. The end was not so far as he imagined. A sudden, awful hope-destroying surprise lay in wait for him. The air grew dusk. Looking up the traveler was somehow aware that the plain had given place all round to mountains, "ugly heaps and heights stolen in view," and he recognized that by some "trick of mischief" he was trapped and penned against all farther progress — caught as within a den, no way forward, backward or to any side. Despair seized Childe Roland, but still he sullenly stumbled on, and the inevitable Dark Tower ended the journey.

The journey of life is not so long as it seems to the boy or girl who, on commencement day, tells all about it in the valedictory. By and by the plain vanishes, as by some devilish mirage; the mountains of age steal into view, enclose the weary wanderer on every side, cut off progress and retreat, warn him that the night has come in which no man can work and that the Dark Tower is hard ahead.

I dwell upon the importance of education, in school and out of school, the value of time and toil, because this day is set apart, on the progress of centennial ceremonies, as belonging peculiarly to the young people of Steubenville and of Jefferson county, to those whose main business in life now is to fit themselves for more life, by going to school, in schoolhouses. By and by other than books and teachers will school them further. President Hayes in a speech at the centennial of Marietta, in 1888, said the founders of Ohio were the best educated men of their period, for they had gone to school seven years to George Washington. The occasion which brings us here on this 24th of August, 1897, is historic, will be memorable to those here assembled, and should not pass by without leaving a historic impression. We are here to give and receive object lessons in history and patriotism; to reconsecrate ourselves to our best principles as American citizens and as Ohio men and women, intent on promulgating and bettering what we are pleased to call Ohio ideas.

Time will not permit us to more than glance at that great history which made Ohio what she is, and which explains why the Buckeye State became the mother of so many presidents, statesmen and warriors. The history of Ohio is essentially the history of the nineteenth century. The older cities of the state have just completed or are near completing their first century.

Turn to the map of Ohio and note what it recalls and suggests of significant events and mighty men. What is the name of the first county organized in the state? Washington. The second? Hamilton. The third? Wayne. The fourth? Adams. And the fifth, what? Jefferson. Let your eye travel from county to county, and you read such shining names as Warren, Franklin, Putnam, Madison, Monroe, Green, Knok, Jackson, Harrison. Finds the ambitious boy no meaning, no moral in his geography book? Its very names inspire, and the dry page becomes, to intelligent brains and heroic hearts, a very holy Bible of patriotism and manliness.

We peruse the map and discover on the eastern edge of Jefferson county a dot and a printed word — Steubenville. That dot and that name are symbols and signs of much. It is easy for the school-boy to find the dot and to say the name, but he must read volumes and have speech with thousands, and use all his faculties of out-door observation to understand what the speck of ink really represents. Steubenville!

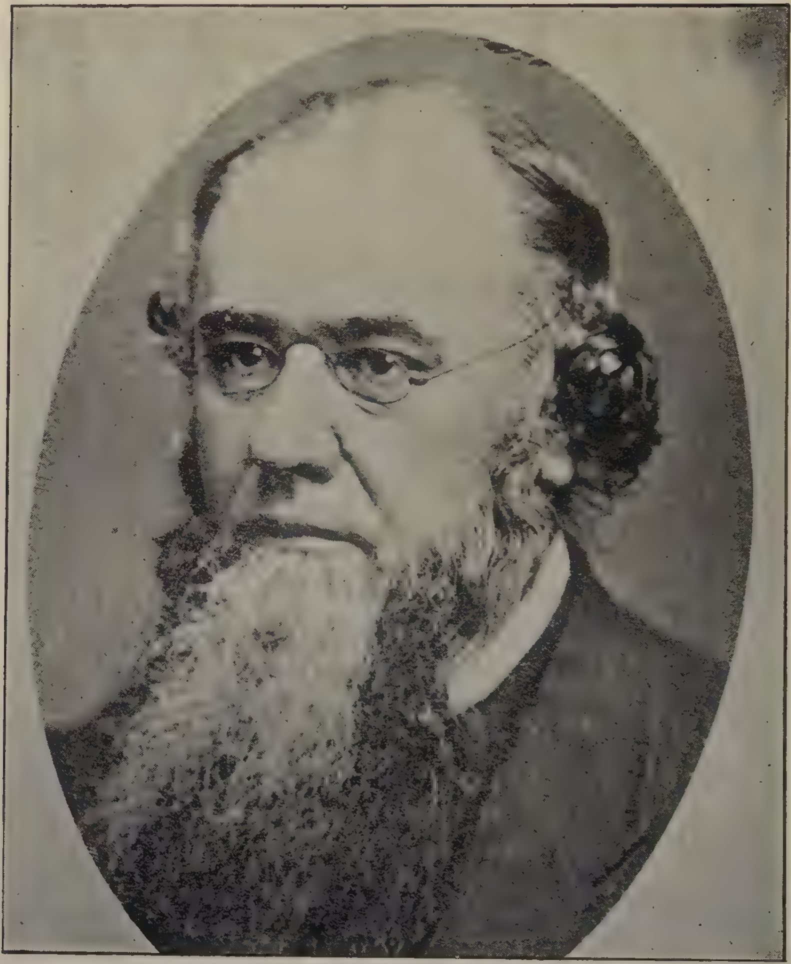
Conjure with the name, and it raises, first, the spirit of old Baron von Steuben, the stern drill-master, who taught our stubborn forefathers the meaning of discipline. He was a man who would permit no fooling and had no use for a smart Alic. Von Steuben! We have in Eden Park, Cincinnati, tough young oaks grown from acorns brought from the Steuben estate, in Germany. History, history, and sermon in everything — in buckeyes transplanted in California, in acorns migrated from Germany, in dots upon a map.

To-day a bronze tablet was set in a conspicuous place in Steubenville, and dedicated, in your presence, to the memory of an Ohio man, honored by the State and by the Nation. The school children of his native county and city contributed to defray the expense of preparing this memorial tablet, every boy and every girl being privileged to take a share in a property more valuable, in a moral sense, than we can estimate. Do we not all feel that Steubenville is richer to-day than she was yesterday, not by a weight of metal, but by an access of civic dignity, an inflow of noble sentiment, a revival of patriotism! You have baptized your sons and daughters in a stream and current of ennobling thoughts and feelings — you have dedicated them anew to whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report by encouraging them to admire, emulate and glorify a good and great Ohio man.

For Edwin M. Stanton was good and great. He was firm and brave, a right manly man, stalwart of body, strong of intellect, and stubbornly virtuous. To the discipline of a college education he added self-discipline, he could think and speak, controlled his own mind and therefore could master other minds and direct the action of legislatures and armies. His rich reading, like wholesome food, went into his brain and blood, making him vital and virile. Stanton did much to save the Union. He staked all upon the issue. "If the cause fails," he wrote to Governor Morton, "if the cause fails I do not wish to live." The cause did not fail. Such Ohio men as Stanton and Grant do not let causes fail. Their business is to win, not to lose. Stanton indeed, sacrificed fortune upon the altar of his country. He died a poor man, but he saved his reputation unsullied. "What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul," his integrity? His life and the lives of others like illustrious, answer our question, "What is an Ohio man?" Stanton, of Steubenville, represents the superior class of American publicists and politicians — the able, the agressive, the conscientious, the incorruptible. The boy who aspires something to hold a place among the nation's councillors, or to sit on the high bench of justice, may well take such men as models.

No less are such men patterns for imitation by the boy who has not such aspirations for public distinction. Ewing, Corwin, Chase, Stanton, and their ilk, typical Ohioans, did not in youth conceive that they were born for extraordinary careers. They did not have the "big head." They were modest, honest, obedient, common boys. Ewing sold coon skins to make money to buy books, and helped found the coon-skin library. Corwin was the wagoner boy of Ohio, Chase drove cows to pasture, took grists to mill, and for a time was a hod-carrier. Neither Grant nor Sherman nor Sheridan dreamed, in boyhood, of becoming a general or a great man of any kind. Ulysses ground tan bark at Georgetown; Tecumseh, or "Cump," as his mother called him, was summoned from playing in a sand bank and sent to school. Phil. Sheridan, the child of an Irish laborer, began life as clerk in a hardware store; chance sent these three lads to West Point, and so they became soldiers. Harrison, Garfield, Hayes, McKinley were innocent of any desire for the Chief Magistracy, when they set out on life's journey. But each and every one of these Buckeye boys possessed the plain, practical, common sense Ohio idea of doing something of some account. Like Lincoln (who ought to have been an Ohio man) they believed in "pegging away." They were resolved to "fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Every one of them had a ravenous appetite for knowledge. They were, without exception, active, enterprising and courageous. Their character and education were such as fit men for any respectable occupation in life, professional, business or mechanical, in town or country. They were what we familiarly call "all round men." They rose to high positions of public trust and were equal to the tasks required of them. But Grant in the tannery was essentially the same man as Grant in the White House, and any self-respecting Ohio man is intrinsically as great and as good, in a tannery as in the Capital. "A man's a man, for a' that." If mean and small in himself, a throne cannot make him royal and great. A puny character in the president's chair betrays itself, and is contemptible; a grand personality though in the humblest position, commands admiration.

"Act well your part, there all the honor lies."



E. M. STANTON. Photo by Filson & Son.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

Tuesday being designated as Stanton day, the public mind was centered on the building in which E. M. Stanton was born. Here the great war secretary, lawyer and jurist was born December 19, 1814. It is a two-story brick set back from Market street between Fifth and Sixth, with a small enclosed yard between the house and the sidewalk. In after years a three-story business house was built in front of the old house. The tablet unveiled is of bronze made by the Lambs of New York, and on it are these words:

EDWIN M. STANTON
ATTORNEY GENERAL
SECRETARY OF WAR
JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT
Born here 19th December, 1814
Erected by the School Children of Jefferson County.

The Stanton day parade, which moved promptly at two o'clock Tuesday afternoon, was imposing, the educational interests of the city being the main feature. The military of the state and nation also made a fine showing. The clergy, the board of education, the bar, Wells Historical society and the boys in blue were all in fine form. There were fully three thousand people in line.

After the parade the people gathered on Market street, between Fifth and Sixth, space being reserved for the school pupils, where the Stanton Memorial Tablet was dedicated. After a most beautiful rendition of the Star Spangled Banner by the 17th Infantry band, and eloquent invocation by Rev. L. H. Stewart, of Cleveland, Gen. Sickles, of New York, was introduced and spoke as follows:

ADDRESS BY GEN. DANIEL SICKLES OF NEW YORK.

Ladies and Gentlemen of Jefferson County: —

I first met Edwin M. Stanton at Pittsburg, in the early fifties. I was then a young practitioner at the bar, and Stanton had already gained considerable distinction as a lawyer. I was to be associated with him in the trial of an important patent case, but could not be very useful to my senior associate, having been unfortunately delayed by an accident on my way to Pittsburg, and found on my arrival, that Stanton had already won the case. Thanks to this lucky turn of affairs, I found myself with a few days of leisure at my disposal and gladly accepted Stanton's invitation to be his guest. With him as a guide I saw for the first time the Ohio river, and I remember well the enthusiasm with which he foreshadowed the wonders its noble banks would exhibit in future years.

Stanton was disposed to criticise my fondness for reading novels. He said it was a waste of time, and a sort of dissipation which he advised me to drop. In my defense I urged that novel reading was a harmless and useful recreation, and urged him to amuse himself with one or two works of fiction I had brought along with me, and which I left with him on my departure. I was gratified not long afterwards, to receive a letter from him asking me to send him a few more good novels, as he had found them a pleasing diversion when overtasked by too much work. Years afterwards he told me I had made him a confirmed novel reader.

I did not meet Stanton again until I had taken my seat in Congress, when he had become a leading practitioner in the Supreme Court of the United States. His abilities were held in such high estimation by that great lawyer, Jeremiah Black, that when he was transferred to the office of Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Buchanan, Stanton was appointed on his recommendation to succeed him as Attorney General.

Early in 1861 when Major Anderson transferred his command from Moultrie to Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, the South Carolinians insisted that President Buchanan should order

Anderson and his garrison back to Moultrie, affecting to treat the movement to Sumter as a menace of hostilities. Public opinion in the north strongly opposed any concession to this arrogant demand. Mr. Buchanan hesitated in his decision. At this juncture Stanton appealed to me, as one of Mr. Buchanan's friends, to see the President and try and persuade him to hold Anderson in Sumter. Stanton told me he had made up his mind to resign from the cabinet if Anderson were ordered back to Moultrie. I told him that it would be useless for me to make any direct appeal to the President, if the remonstrances of his cabinet had proved unavailing. Stanton was in despair, walking up and down my apartment, showing the deepest emotion. Turning to me, very earnestly he exclaimed, "Something must be done, and you are the man to do it, because you know Mr. Buchanan better than any of us." I answered, "So be it, leave it to me." In an hour I was on my way to Philadelphia, Trenton and New York, having meanwhile telegraphed to friends in those cities to meet me at the railway stations en route.

Arrangements were made to have salutes of a hundred guns fired in each city the next morning, in honor of President Buchanan's heroic determination to sustain Major Anderson and keep him in Fort Sumter. Hundreds of telegrams from prominent men of all parties were sent to the President congratulating him on his patriotic decision, and urging him to stand firm. Double-leaded editorials of the same tenor appeared in the newspapers. When the cabinet assembled they were surprised to find the President overwhelmed with these tokens of popular approval of a decision they had not yet heard of, and about which they had grave apprehensions. Stanton alone held the clew to the mystery. You who knew him so well, will appreciate the delight with which he heard the President declare, "That in view of the excited condition of public opinion in the north he supposed it would be well to allow Major Anderson to remain at Sumter."

On February 22, 1861, a considerable body of regular troops having been ordered to Washington for the protection of the Capital, Gen. Scott, commanding the army, ordered a parade of the infantry, artillery and calvary, in commemoration of Washington's birthday. Multitudes of people filled the streets through which it was announced the column would march. Desiring myself to see this unusual number of our regular forces, I went to the Treasury building and joined a group of spectators on the portico. Near me were Mr. Stanton and one or two ladies of the family of Gen. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury. The office of the Attorney General was at that time in the Treasury building, I believe. At all events, Mr. Stanton was occupied there during the day. While we were waiting for the procession a rumor came to us, through Mr. Kennedy, the Superintendent of the Census, whose relations with the President were intimate, that the parade had been countermanded. I went to Mr. Stanton and asked if there were any truth in the rumor, pointing out the unfortunate impression that would be made. Stanton quickly seized the significance of the news, disclaiming any knowledge of what had happened, and asked me to go with him to Gen. Dix's office, and learn whatever he might know of it.

Gen. Dix had heard nothing of the countermand, and was as unwilling as Stanton to believe it. Both went over to the State Department to confer with Judge Black on the subject. He had heard nothing, and likewise doubted the truth of the rumor, but in view of the well-known relation of Mr. Kennedy to the President, and the fear felt by these members of the cabinet lest the President might have yielded to some influence inducing him to stop a military display at that critical moment, they determined to visit the President at once, and learn what, if anything, had happened.

They considered it expedient that I should precede them, and learn from the President whether or not he had countermanded the procession. I was informed at the White House that Mr. Buchanan was at the War Department, and when I reported this circumstance to Stanton, Dix and Black, they decided that it would be improper for them to go there about a matter which had been perhaps determined by the Secretary of War, Judge Holt, with the approval of the President. They, however, deputed me to go the War Department and endeavor to have the countermand revoked.

On arriving at the office of the Secretary, I was informed that the President was with him and visitors could not be admitted.

In a voice loud enough to be heard through the thin partitions of the old structure, then occupied by the War Department, I announced that, as a representative of the people I had an important communication to make to the President and Secretary of War, and insisted that my card should be taken in by the messenger. He said the door was locked, but it was very soon opened by Mr. Buchanan himself, who in a good-natured way bid me not to make so much noise, and come in and unburden whatever I had to communicate. I had not met Judge Holt before, and I found him apparently in a temper not at all favorable to the object of my mission. When I learned from the President that the procession had been countermanded at the request of ex-President Tyler, in behalf of the delegates of Virginia and the other border states, in the peace congress, I divined at once that the Secretary of War, who was a Kentuckian, had inspired the revocation. My earnest representations to the President, so influentially backed by the statement that three members of his cabinet had expressed their profound regret, when informed of his action, caused Mr. Buchanan to turn to Judge Holt and say to him that he might send word to Gen. Scott to let the procession move, and avoid further criticism.

Assuming, as I did, that this decision would be very unsatisfactory to Judge Holt, I expected to hear from him an emphatic remonstrance, as he had not shown the least sympathy with anything I had said in the name of his colleagues. Imagine my surprise when Judge Holt replied, "Mr. President, I will go at once, myself, to Gen. Scott, and deliver your message, and I know, that he will be as glad to hear it as I am to be the bearer of it."

Judge Holt had no sooner left the room than Mr. Buchanan enjoyed a hearty laugh at my expense for the violent manner in which I had criticised what I had foolishly supposed to be Judge Holt's action in stopping the parade. The President declared that so far was this from being true he had come over to the War Department to dissuade Judge Holt from resigning his place in the cabinet, because he was so angry at an order forbidding a parade of regular troops in the Capital of the Nation on the birthday of Washington.

Stanton was in no sense a politician. In ordinary times he never would have held office. He was passionately devoted to the welfare of his country, and hated its enemies with all the intensity of his nature. He called to see me at my lodgings in Washington, one night in January, 1861, while he was Attorney General, to congratulate me on an expression I had used that day in a speech in the House of Representatives. As my remarks had been wholly directed to a discussion of some of the legal phases of the insurrectionary movements in the south, I was at a loss to conjecture what I had said to elicit praise from the astute lawyer. I ventured to express the hope that my law was sound. "Oh!" he exclaimed, with impatience, "your law was well enough, but I came to thank you for saying, as you did, 'that if South Carolina forcibly resisted the laws, Charleston would be in ashes and the state desolated.' That is the sort of law for rebels, and I am glad it was announced by a northern Democrat, and a friend of Mr. Buchanan's."

At the close of Mr. Buchanan's administration on March 4, 1861, when Mr. Stanton's brief tenure of office as Attorney General expired he had no expectation of returning to official life. He resumed his practice at the bar without however losing his deep interest in the stirring events of the times. It so happened that when Gen. Cameron resigned from the War Department, I was one of the first persons to learn that Mr. Lincoln had determined to appoint Stanton as Cameron's successor. I hastened to the office of my friend to offer him my congratulations, and was informed that I would find him at the Supreme Court. Hastening to the court room I found Stanton in the midst of an argument. Waiting until he had concluded his address to the court, I took his hand and warmly expressed my felicitations. He looked at me with surprise, expressing his belief that there was no foundation for the rumor. Before he left the capitol his nomination as Secretary of War was sent to the Senate. He had never filled an executive office, he had never been connected with military affairs, of which indeed he was as ignorant, to use a witty comparison of John Van Buren's, as any of Mr. Lincoln's brigadiers. I have often had occasion to observe that a thorough training at the bar is a good school for any employment. It would be difficult to point to any one of Mr. Lincoln's inspirations that was more fortunate than the selection of Stanton as a War Minister. The influence of the new secretary was at once felt throughout the service. His enthusiasm, earnestness and zeal pervaded all ranks. There was about Stanton a severity and sternness that supplied a want in the tender nature of Lincoln. Stanton could say "No." From the hour he entered office until he left it, after the close of the war, there was never a moment when any other thought than the success of our cause influenced an order or an act of the War Department. He entered office a poor man. He disbursed two thousand million dollars for military purposes. He left the office poorer than when he accepted it. He directed the greatest war of modern times to a successful conclusion. I do not need to be reminded how much our success depended on the skill of our leaders, and the devotion of our troops, but those leaders had to be found. Stanton found them. It was necessary to inspire the troops with confidence. Stanton's administration of the War Department made every man in the army feel that success would be the reward of his sacrifices.

It was necessary, during the war, for Mr. Stanton to issue a good many orders that were unpopular. The country was indeed fortunate to have at the head of the War Department a man without political associations; indifferent to popularity; who had always in view the interests of the service and the success of our cause. No party was responsible for Stanton, for no party could control him. Mr. Lincoln was not expected to interfere with the administration of the War Department, although his sympathetic and gentle nature was often touched by the appeals made to him to overrule the stern measures of his War Secretary. Perhaps no measure contributed more to our success than Stanton's resolute refusal to exchange prisoners of war. During the latter period of the conflict it had been found that while our exchanged prisoners were faithful to their parole, not to take up arms again during the war, our adversaries on the other hand were not scrupulous in keeping their engagements not to serve. The result was that the rebel prisoners when exchanged were put back into the ranks, furnishing important reinforcements to the opposing army, thereby assisting to prolong the struggle. Mr. Stanton saw this and resisted every appeal made to him from the President to the humblest citizen, to consent to any further exchange of prisoners. "Not while I am Secretary of War," was the answer. Mothers and wives, sisters and brothers and fathers, besought him in vain to modify his purpose. The untold and usspeakable sufferings of our soldiers at Andersonville did not shake his determination. It would be impossible to measure the unpopularity of this action.

The speaker gave a graphic review of Secretary Stanton's career the latter part of the war.

After Gen. Sickles' address, Hon. R. W. Taylor, member of Congress from the Columbiana district, was introduced by Capt. Oliver, and delivered an address on the life and character of Stanton, dwelling on the importance of the lesson to the school children.

After the singing of the national hymn, "America," by the school pupils and the benediction beautifully delivered by Dr. A. M. Reid, the daylight ceremonies of the first day's celebration of the centennial came to an end.

A TRIBUTE TO STANTON BY HON. J. H. S. TRAINER.

The Bar Association of Jefferson county met in the court house at 7:30 Tuesday evening and escorted Hon. J. H. S. Trainer, the senior member and the only living member of the Jefferson county bar contemporary with Stanton, and who practiced with him both at Cadiz and Steubenville, a life-long friend and most ardent admirer, to the opera house, where the bar held appropriate services. Mr. Trainer was introduced by Dio Rogers, the president of the Bar Association, and spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Members of the Bar Association, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the hundredth anniversary of our city and county. The early settlers have all passed away. Of these the name of Bezaleel Wells, the founder of this city, still lives and is cherished in fond recollection for his upright character and deeds of benevolence. But I have been selected to speak of one with whom I was intimately acquainted in life, who here eighty-three years ago was born, received his early education and training here, and for some fifty years was a citizen. He, too, has passed away, to be hoped to that other and better world, leaving on record a name for character and sterling worth that will be handed down through generations as a bright and brilliant luminary of the legal profession, and a monument of a true and loyal citizen and statesman of our Republic. I mean the Honorable Edwin M. Stanton. Edwin M. Stanton was no ordinary man. He was not one of those born with a golden spoon. And the learning and eminence that he achieved in life were due alone to his untiring habits of industry and close application in the pursuit of knowledge. He was truly a self-educated man. The common schools in his early life afforded youth a very limited education. His father died in limited circumstances when Edwin was but thirteen years of age, leaving his mother a widow with four minor children. The widow, lamenting over the loss of a kind husband, her noble son, Edwin, young in years, put his arms around her neck and kissing her, said, "Mother, don't weep. I will take good care of you." What a son for a fond mother to be proud of.

> "My mother, at that holy name
> Within my bosom there's a gush
> Of feeling, which no time can tame;
> I would not, could not crush."

That dear mother was never neglected by her loving and faithful son through all the vicissitudes of life. He carefully performed that promise and supplied her every need and want during his life. She lived to see that son win honor and renown in the legal profession, and statesmanship. The circumstances of his mother's family were such that Edwin had by his labor to aid in their support, and at the age of thirteen found employment as a clerk in the book-store of that good old citizen, James Turnbull. So pleased was Mr. Turnbull with Stanton's industry, that in opening a book-store at Columbus, he sent Edwin there as a salesman. After some time in that position, and with a mind desirous of education, he determined to qualify himself for another calling and entered Kenyon college where, by close application, he acquired learning that stood him in hand in after life. Here he gained the reputation for diligence that a student ought to be proud of. But for want of the necessary means he had to leave the college in his junior year, in 1832, and return to his home.

He entered on a course of legal studies under the instructions of Col. James Collier and Maj. Collier in this city. He, on completing his studies, commenced the practice of his profession in Cadiz. The bar at that place was composed of able members, such as the Hon. Chauncy Dewey, Gen. Samuel W. Bostwick, Gen. Beebe and others. But he soon distinguished himself and was elected prosecuting attorney, an office he filled with ability and fidelity.

The Hon. Benjamin Tappan, one of the leading members of the bar in this city, having been elected to represent this state in the Senate of the United States, and retiring from practice, Edwin Stanton, desiring to be near the home of his mother, returned to this city and commenced the practice of his profession. The bar of this county at the time was one of legal ability, a reputation it sustained from the early history of the state, and at the time composed of such attorneys as Col. James Collier, Maj. D. L. Collier, Gen. Samuel Stokely, Hon. John K. Sutherland, Hon. Roswell Marsh and others. Shortly after coming to this bar two other brilliant lights in the legal profession came to this bar in the persons of the learned and gifted Roderick S. Moody and the bright and eloquent Joseph Mason. Here he remained as a resident attorney for twenty years, during which period his practice in the courts of this and the surrounding counties of the state, in the courts of other states and of the United States, was extensive and laborious.

His character and upright deportment, his brilliant and eminent career as a jurist is known to the citizens present who were living at that period, and they can bear testimony with me in regard to the same. The eminence that he reached was almost like enchantment. But those who knew his close habits of industry, perseverance and stern and unyielding will, witnessed in an early period that a grand success would be attained.

Close application to the duties of his calling gained him a reputation of being a careful and learned legal gentleman, with few, if any, superiors at the bar. While not flowery and airy, he was eloquent as an advocate, argumentative and of persuasive address to the jury or court. Being well versed in all the rules of pleading and evidence enabled him to prepare a case which he spared no pains in preparation; in court he wasted no time. Such attention won confidence in his ability and was the crowning glory of his success. In this he has left an untarnished name and example worthy of consideration of every young member of the legal profession. Edwin M. Stanton was more than an ordinary light in the legal circle. By study and close application he became a master in jurisprudence; and the study and care he devoted to the same enabled him to grasp every intricate question. This with him was a cherished love. For he was truly a profound lover of his profession. Such was his great love of justice that the consideration of his compensation for services was no thought to him, for he looked on money in the language of Scripture as "the root of all evil," and the poor and fatherless in his practice received the same consideration as the wealthy.

The reputation of Edwin M. Stanton at an early period in his career soon extended throughout his native state. He made his first appearance in the Supreme Court of the state at the December term, 1836, in the case of Woods against McGee, in which he had to combat such able counsellors as the celebrated Metcalf and the Hon. John K. Sutherland. After this he appeared in many cases in the Supreme Court and demonstrated his ability as a jurist. Among these cases is the celebrated case of Moore against Gano and others, tried at the December term, 1843, of the Supreme Court, contending against such learned counsellors as James and Daniel L. Collier, Wright, Coffin and Minor. The name of Edwin M. Stanton as a jurist gained such an ascendency that he was selected by the Supreme Court as its reporter, and made the reports of the court of the December terms of the years 1841, 1842 and 1843, found in the 11th, 12th and 13th volumes. These evidence masterly manner in careful preparation. Edwin M. Stanton prided in doing his work and knew that to do so required care and study.

The display of his legal acquirements was not confined to his native state. He gained a high reputation in other states and in the courts of the United States, where he tried cases of great importance. Among these cases was the celebrated Wheeling bridge case.

A personal quality of Edwin M. Stanton was to do that which he believed to be right and just, and all his actions were pure, fair, open and honorable. His judgment was excellent, and in the exercise of his mind, he seriously considered what was right towards his fellow men, with a laudable desire to achieve honest fame, for he scorned at doing wrong.

He possessed in the different walks of life a knowledge not often found among eminent jurists. He had nothing of the so-called holiday idleness in his character, and when not engaged in his legal business devoted himself to other studies and sociability with his friends.

He was well versed on general subjects and was an interesting conversationalist and companion. I first heard of Edwin M. Stanton, when but a youth, in the ever memorable political campaign of 1840, and saw him for the first time in the old court room in the summer of 1842. Court being in session, I visited the court room. Mr. Stanton was addressing the jury. I was charmed with his manner and on leaving the court room remarked to the friend who was with me, I wish I could speak like Stanton. From that time my mind was made up to try and be an attorney. Commencing the study of law in the summer of 1846 with the Hon. Thomas L. Jewett at Cadiz, the office of Stanton & Peppard adjoining Mr. Jewett's office, and meeting Mr. Stanton there while he was attending court, I became then personally acquainted with him. We became intimate friends, which continued until his death.

At the McNutt house our rooms were only separated by a hallway. Frequently, on waking up at night, I would hear him up in his room, and would now and then, on meeting him, say, "Mr. Stanton, you keep late hours at night." His reply would be, "Mr. Trainer, I have to do so, in order to consider the matters I have to look after in court, and be prepared on questions that may come up on the trial."

Locating as a practicing attorney in Columbiana county in the spring of 1850, I met with him frequently at the bar of that county. He was a member of the law firm of Stanton, Umstetter

& Wallace. I became a resident of this city in April, 1853, and commenced the practice of law. At that time Edwin M. Stanton was a resident here; and the law firm of Stanton & McCook, of which Stanton and Col. George W. McCook were the members, had an extensive practice. I often met Mr. Stanton in the trial of civil and criminal cases, I being the prosecuting attorney during the years of 1854 and 1855. Mr. Stanton appeared as the attorney for the defense in several criminal cases, and I can truthfully bear testimony that in all the trials he came to the trial thoroughly prepared. His treatment of witnesses and counsel opposed to him was kind, courteous and gentlemanly. There was nothing of the bully or trickery about him. His deportment was such as becomes the true lover of the legal profession.

During the administration of President Buchanan he was selected to represent the government in important legal matters at San Francisco; the duties he discharged with ability and fidelity, and won the praise of the government. Afterwards he became attorney-general of the United States for a short period. To this period in his life Edwin M. Stanton never sought or held office not united with the legal profession.

In 1854 I spoke to him in regard to using his name in connection with being the Democratic nominee for Congress in this district. His reply was, "Mr. Trainer, you are not the first one that has suggested my name for that honor, and you have my thanks for your kind regards; but I have not sought office outside of the legal profession, and would not accept any office in the gift of the people, except it would be a judgeship, for that is the only office I believe I could fill with credit to myself and honor to my country."

But the time came when Edwin M. Stanton, as a true and loyal citizen, saw that it was proper to change his mind, and for a time to lay aside his legal robes and devote his time and attention to aiding his beloved country in putting down one of the greatest rebellions against government in the history of the world. For this purpose he accepted from President Lincoln the office of secretary of war. Possessing a strong and determined will and energy to do and to dare, and undaunted courage, he proved himself to be the Ajax in the cabinet and rendered greater service to his country than he could have done had he been a commanding general in the field, and his memory as the greatest of his country's war secretaries will live in famous history. He was the true and tried friend of our soldiers in the field. Punctually he kept in sight their needs and wants and had them relieved as far as possible.

The thought of enemies was no trouble to him, and the love of money could not influence him to do wrong. For Edwin M. Stanton was no friend or associate of the class of men that the Hon. John J. Crittenden spoke of when he said, "There are men sent to Congress who will, with the right hand raised, say, 'Mr. Speaker,' while at the same time their left hand is held behind their back for the bribe they are to receive." Independent of enemies, he fearlessly discharged all the duties of his office, and had the satisfaction of receiving the plaudits of loyal citizens of his country. During the war his perseverance was of true Roman virtue.

Edwin M. Stanton lived as a plain, American citizen, without any show of aristocratic airs. He was very generous, kind and sympathetic. No one in want or distress ever approached E. M. Stanton without finding him ready to extend help. To such an extent did his kindness lead, that he died poor, although all through life he had the means within his grasp, had he hoarded money and loved it, to have accumulated a fortune and have died wealthy.

The incessant toil that he endured in his profession, and as secretary of war, wore out his precious life, and death reached him when only a few years past middle age. Realizing that the stream of his life was fast approaching its end, still clinging to the high sense of honor that had been the polar star throughout life, he could not bring himself to think of receiving the gift of a hundred thousand dollars that kind and generous friends offered him.

The only office the gifted Edwin M. Stanton ever had a desire to fill came to him in the closing days of his earthly course. That gallant and brave soldier, after reaching the presidency, apreciating the eminent character of the ex-war secretary, appointed him one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United

States, which appointment was confirmed by an unanimous vote of the Senate. Dying within a few days thereafter, he never took his seat on the Supreme bench. He would have filled the position with distinction and would have been the equal in learning, brilliancy and legal knowledge with Chief Justices Marshall, Story and Chase.

But I must hasten to a close of my remarks. What a great loss such a great jurist and high-minded statesman is to our beloved country! But death makes no distinction; and the gifted, the learned, the able and upright jurist and statesman passes from life into that other and undiscoverable country. But the name of Edwin M. Stanton lives in the memory of a grateful and generous people.

Dead! The great and learned jurist and statesman is silent, and no more will his voice be heard in the courts or in the nation's councils. His name will forever stand on the Records of the Courts of his country as one of the brightest and ablest of jurists; and the records of our loved country, as the greatest of war secretaries, who, in the cabinet of the lamented President Lincoln, aided and assisted in crushing out the rebellion and restoring the Union of the states to peace and harmony, united under one flag.

The name of Edwin M. Stanton as a jurist and statesman is:

> "One of the few immortal names
> That was not born to die."

RECEPTION BY THE LADIES CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE.

A reception was given by the ladies' centennial committee in the Court House in honor of distinguished visitors, and the first day of the celebration was most auspiciously closed.

PIONEER DAY.

At the close of a very imposing Pioneer and Industrial parade the people gathered at LaBelle park and on the beautiful lawns that terrace the immediate neighborhood at the intersection of Fourth street and LaBelle avenue, in full view of the Ohio river and under the shade of hundreds of trees, they crowded to listen to the addresses.

Hon. J. J. Gill, a descendant of an old and honorable Mt. Pleasant family, as chairman of the day, spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. J. J. GILL.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

To me has been assigned the very gratifying and highly honorable privilege of acting as the presiding officer of this meeting, and it is my wish to confine myself strictly to my duties as such chairman. We are here to listen to the formal addresses of the occasion as arranged, and I shall not, therefore, delay the feast of good things which is before us longer than to pause a moment to congratulate the good people of Steubenville and of Jefferson county and the various patriotic and self-sacrificing committees having the work in charge upon the memorable and magnificent success of this centennial celebration and upon the very great general interest and enthusiasm which have been aroused. We can all rightfully rejoice over and take pride in the past, and as the events of history are recounted and the panorama is unfolded before us, I sincerely trust that under the inspiration of the occasion we shall also give sharp heed to the living present and to the duties of to-day, and turn also with anxious thoughts towards the future, earnestly resolved that if possible a more rapid rate of progress shall be established, and that the splendid heritage which has been left us shall not have its lustre dimmed by any deed of ours, or dulled by our failure to adequately and proportionately advance along the line of the world's grand march.

Invocation was offered by Rev. Dr. Geo. W. MacMillan, of Richmond, after which Hon. H. L. Chapman made congratulatory remarks.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY JOHN M. COOK, ESQ.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Jefferson county extends her greetings to the thousands that have come to participate in our centennial anniversary. Welcome, thrice welcome, one and all. It is our birthday party; for a hundred years of civil life is little more than a single year of personal existence. On birthdays we look backward and forward; have we gained or lost, and what are the prospects of the future? Whatever may be our future prospects, in the record of the past our hearts swell with unbounded pride.

What a magnificent county we had a hundred years ago. It extended from the lakes on the north to Powhattan Point on the south, from the Pennsylvania line on the east to the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas rivers on the west. Five thousand square miles of as fruitful domain as the sun ever shone upon. Hill and valley, forest and prairie, soil of the richest character watered by hundreds of rivers, rivulets and springs. Like the promised land to which the children of Israel journeyed, it was fair to look upon, and flowing with milk and honey. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the red men of the forest contested every foot of ground with the pioneer homeseekers for such a land?

The early settlers were worthy of the land; they were not Goths and Vandals seeking conquest for the sport of conquest at the sacrifice of property and culture; they were not bigoted crusaders, driving out a barbarous race for the purpose of establishing a system of religion, more intolerant and cruel than the religion of the untutored worshippers of nature, "who saw God in the clouds and heard Him in the wind"; they were not even from a foreign land, warped and prejudiced by foreign education and contact with foreign ideas and principles. They were our own countrymen, speaking our own inimitable Anglo-Saxon language; they came from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Virginia and Pennsylvania. What a grand combination: the Puritans of New England, rigid, zealous, and quick-witted; the Dutch of New York, not the equal of the Yankee in driving a bargain, but surpassing him in industry and frugality; the Scotch-Irish of New Jersey, in whose lexicon there was no such word as fail; the cavalier of Virginia, noble, dignified, and valorous; and as if to cement the whole and round it out in strength and symmetry, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who would tolerate no feuds and quarrels. Well might Gen. Washington in his celebrated eulogy upon our first settlement say, "No other colony in America was ever settled under such favorable circumstances as that which has just commenced upon the Ohio river. Information, property, and strength will be its beginning."

We have been faithful to our heritage. No section of the country has made greater strides in physical, intellectual, and moral development than has our beloved Jefferson county. The evidence of material growth is everywhere; the smoke and flame of the furnace, factory and workshop greet every passing cloud; the joyous song of the harvester gladdens every hilltop and valley; the hum of busy industry is heard in the marts of trade in a hundred cities and villages, for Cleveland, Youngstown, Akron, Canton, and a score of others belong to us as surely as Steubenville. Our boys and girls have done well. We gave the country the literary genius, William Dean Howells; the pioneer abolitionist, Benjamin Lundy; the brave war governor, David Todd; the great war secretary, Edwin M. Stanton, and the fighting McCooks. Yea more, we have furnished two of the most illustrious chief magistrates of the nation: the scholarly orator and statesman, James A. Garfield, who sleeps in Lake View cemetery, and the conscientious and gifted William McKinley, who now so worthily occupies the White House. Our daughters have in every respect been the equals of our sons. The women of southeastern Ohio and of the Western Reserve have been proverbial for their refinement, culture, and religious devotion; they have graced the homes of presidents, statesmen, bishops, philanthropists, and financiers, and there is hardly a missionary field in the world but what has felt the beneficent influence of the graduates of Beatty seminary. "I speak these things to your honor."

Old Jefferson has felt the touch of the century. That touch has been in many respects magnetic and uplifting, but in some enervating or at least depleting. We have advanced from the log cabin to the comfortable dwelling and palace; from the rude school house with its three R's to the magnificent high school of the people and the college and university of the more favored. Religious intolerance with its bigotry and aspersions has become a thing of the past; and to-day Roman Catholic and Protestant, Greek and Jew, meet upon the platform as brothers. Brute force has been supplanted by steam and electricity; higher mechanism has succeeded the waste of muscle and the sweat of the brow. Never was there such advancement in any age as during this last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in no corner of the earth has it been more marked than in what was Jefferson county. There is a reverse side to the picture. How small and dwarfed our once magnificent county seems. It is with difficulty that we recognize the old settlement and homestead; from five thousand square miles it has been reduced to four hundred; our cities, villages and farms with their riches and fertility have been taken away from us; however, as dutiful parents, we rejoice in these new settlements and the children that occupy them. Cuyahoga, Lake, Ashtabula, Geauga, Summit, Portage, Trumbull, Stark, Mahoning, Carroll, Columbiana, Harrison and Belmont, we are proud of you and your success. You are not with us, but you are of us, and how dear you are to our hearts!

Children of these new homes, God bless you; sometimes we fear many of you, in your incomparable prosperity, have become proud and seldom think of your shriveled and dwarfed old parent, yet our hearts go out to you like that of Jacob that went out to Joseph and Benjamin, and upon this festal anniversary we are glad to greet you and bid you welcome home.

ADDRESS OF HON. WEBSTER DAVIS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Of all the monuments erected to perpetuate the memory of America's greatest men none are grander, sublimer or more enduring than this — Jefferson county — named in honor of the immortal Thomas Jefferson. It was the fifth county established in Ohio and was created by proclamation of Governor St. Clair, the first governor of the state, on July 29, A. D. 1797. Its original limits included all the country west of Pennsylvania and the Ohio river; and east, and north, of a line from the mouth of the Cuyahoga; southward to the Muskingum, and east to the Ohio river. Within those boundaries are Cleveland, Canton, Steubenville, Warren, and many other large towns and populous cities. This immense territory was considerably larger in extent than some of the states of the American Union. Of course, as soon as the population began to increase rapidly because of the large immigration, which soon set in from other states, this territory was considered entirely too large and unwieldy for one county, hence it was subdivided.

The first settlers, long before 1789, were doubtless "Mound Builders," that remarkable race of beings, of which so little seems to be known; from whence they came or whither they have gone, no one seems to be able to tell positively. But that they inhabited this region at one time is very evident from the fact that certain relics and bones have been found in the valleys of the Miamis, the Scioto and the Muskingum, which indicate their existence here at some remote period.

Then again, this magnificent territory was but a vast waste of luxurious nature, where, amid scenes of primeval solitude, the explorer might have thought that war's invading foot never trod. Wild beasts, ferocious and terrible, had their lairs in the glens and jungles. Reptiles dragged their slimy forms along the grassy dells, while savages of the most bloodthirsty natures built their wigwams in the hidden recesses of the forests, and on the banks of the winding streams. But finally, the pioneers — the torch-bearers of civilization, wended their way toward this virgin territory, and soon the smoke from the cabins and the noise from the woodman's axe proclaimed to the world the beginning of a new era — the most wonderful in the annals of mankind. No pen can portray, no tongue can describe the awful sufferings and hardships endured by the first settlers in their struggles with the Indians. For those savages died by thousands rather than yield this rich and fertile territory, which they so loved and hoped to enjoy for all time. After many years of fierce and bloody conflict, the Indians were compelled to give way to a superior race of men and women, whom an all-wise Providence had directed to open up this new land to civilization and to plant on its hill tops, in its valleys, on its plains, and amid God's temples in its picturesque woodlands, the altars of liberty and equality of rights, and invite the genius of the earth to worship at their shrines.

And in passing it may be said, that the most ferocious Indian incursions in these parts were inspired by the British government, which has always been one of the worst enemies this youthful republic has ever had. The last blood shed in battle between the first settlers and the Indians was shed in this county in August, 1793. The battle is known in history as "Buskirk's Battle," and took place on the farm of John Adams on what was then known as Indian Cross creek, now as Battle Ground run.

A very important incident in the early history of this part of this state should not be forgotten on this occasion; and that is the fact that George Washington visited this county at Mingo village in the year 1770, just seventeen years before the adoption of the famous ordinance of 1787, which is now recognized by all men as a masterpiece of statesmanship, ranking with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. And its author, Nathan Dane, became immortal, and his name will be heralded to other generations as one of the great benefactors of his race. For by that ordinance he laid a foundation upon which the pioneers might rear an honest manhood and a loyal citizenship. With that ordinance as a guide they could never go wrong. It was their pillar of cloud by day and their pillar of fire by night. By it all men and women were guaranteed freedom of worship. They might worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. They were allowed the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus—one of the choicest rights enjoyed by freemen. By it also the people were given representation in the affairs of government. It was to be a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It also gave the right of trial by jury—a blessing enjoyed by men and women only in a land of freedom; and it also established roads and highways; abrogated the law of primogeniture, and made equal divisions of land among children and heirs. It was also ordained that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crime, and that religion, morality, and knowledge, being essential to good government and the happiness of mankind, shall forever be encouraged." These were placed by the ordinance as among the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, and upon these as the foundation stones, was erected a most wonderful temple of civilization; which is to-day the marvel of the century and the pride of mankind.

The most important event in the early history of Jefferson county was the founding of this beautiful city—Steubenville—in the year 1797, which was named after Fort Steuben, which had been erected in 1787. To Bezaleel Wells and James Ross. the one hailing from Maryland and the other from Pennsylvania, belongs the honor of laying out this city, which was incorporated on February 14, A. D. 1805. These men were among the noblest and sturdiest of the pioneers. They started the manufactories here, and they introduced into these parts the sheep industry and for its Merino sheep it became famous. The finest wool ever raised in the great northwest territory was raised in this county. And this resulted in the establishment in this city of the first woolen mill in the United States. In this county also was the first public survey, and in this city was located the first land office in the United States located in the district where the land lay. It was this splendid opportunity given to the poor man that attracted the attention of the people of other localities and caused them to turn their eyes towards this great west, where they might go and find a home for themselves and their little ones, where they might sit under their own vine and fig tree with no one to molest them and no one to make them afraid—a home where their youth might be crowned with happiness and the sun of their life's evening go down with the unmolested hope of a glorious immortality. So they came from all states and all lands, until now Jefferson is one of the most populous counties in this state, and Steubenville has within its confines 14,000 souls, and instead of a village it is to-day a splendid city, with many manufacturing institutions of iron, steel, glass and pottery; with a supply of coal which is inexhaustible; with splendid railway facilities; with water ways and with vessels to assist in carrying her commerce; with excellent wholesale and retail establishments; with modern improvements unexcelled; with modern churches and schools; with bright and sparkling newspapers; with petroleum and natural gas wells, and on every hand thrift, prosperity and refinement. And, surrounded by fertile farms, with plains, valleys and woodlands, with waving fields and fruitful orchards, indeed with everything essential for a people's happiness; with a climate too, unexcelled for health and comfort, with sunshine enough for song, and snow enough for courage, surely the people of this city and county ought to be among the happiest and most contented people on earth. And it may be said also of this county that, like Cornelia of old, the brightest jewels in her crown are her children—the strong men and beautiful women who have their homes within her borders.

Indeed it seems that God has brought, during this first century, to this state and county, young people from every land and every clime, from the rugged lands of Germany and the vine-clad hills of France; from the snowy land of Scandinavia, and the sunny land of the south; from the lowlands and highlands of Scotland, and from the hills and dales of Ireland; from the mountain fastness of Wales and from England itself. Ah yes, among them are men and women whose ancestors in the long ago stood amid that mighty array of barons who wrested Magna Charta from King John on the historic field of Runnymede; among them too were those whose fathers had stood with Oliver Cromwell at Marston Moor and Naseby, and among them were some whose forefathers had followed the white plume of Henry of Navarre, in the years that are past and gone. All of these were put as it were into a mighty laboratory, out of which God brought the master man and woman—the ideal citizens of the greatest republic known in history's wondrous annals. Of all agents for the promotion of enterprises, the upbuilding of cities, the development of states and countries and the spreading of civilization, the newspapers are the most powerful. Hence on this centennial anniversary it would not do to forget to give proper credit to the newspapers. The first one was started in this city in 1806, by Lowry and Miller, its editors, and I am told that this paper still continues. John Miller afterwards became a citizen of the city of St. Louis, and in 1820 was elected to be the first governor of Missouri, a state in which natural resources stand to-day without a superior in the Union.

Thus has Ohio sent her sons and daughters by thousands into the western wilds, where they have become pioneers again in the establishment of new cities and new states, and many a homesick boy has laid his head to rest far out in the hills of the west, thinking of the old home back in old Ohio, and in his dreams his mutterings told of loved ones far away, but not forgotten.

Jefferson county is also the birthplace of the great anti-slavery sentiment which resulted in the freedom of the slaves. Because of the provision in the ordinance of 1787 against negro slavery many of that sturdy sect of men and women who loved liberty, known as Quakers, came here from North Carolina, and immediately upon their arrival liberated their slaves. Indeed the first newspaper devoted to the abolition of negro slavery, was printed in this county, and here lived the great abolitionist, Benjamin Lundy, who was the first man to get William Lloyd Garrison interested in that question. These liberty-loving pioneers believed that the spirit that causes the little bird to beat its breast against the wires of the cage while it longs for freedom, is the same spirit that is planted in the human breast struggling to be free. Hence they were determined that here a man might assert his claim to right and have it allowed. And as a result the people who live here to-day, can boast that they live in a land of freedom. Freedom not only in name but in fact. They live in a land of liberty where everything is possible to every citizen, and where the only restraints upon the full enjoyment of life, liberty and possession of happiness, are the necessary restraints of society against the abuse of these blessings. With no tyrant ruling over them; with no privileged classes to exact support and luxuries from the masses; with no great standing armies to eat up their substance and oppress the people in the enjoyment of their liberties; with fertile lands, yielding abundant increase; with splendid systems of transportation; with commerce extending to almost every section; with a mighty population increasing in wealth annually—in the presence of blessings like these, thrilling with the consciousness of citizenship in a government more glorious than any that ever existed, surely these people should be thankful for a privilege so great.

Steubenville is also a city of schools, and Ohio is noted for its excellent public school system and also for its many excellent colleges, universities and academies. The people of this state have always been true friends of education, in fact one of the strongest provisions in the famous ordinance of 1787 was that in regard to the encouragement of schools, and the promotion of education.

The pioneers of this region realized that, from the time the Creator commanded the earth and the waters thereof to bring forth abundantly the manifold species of living creatures, down through the centuries until this day, there has been but little change in the inferior animals. The beasts of burden still continue to bear their burdens for the convenience, profit and comfort of man. The cattle still graze upon the meadows, fatten, and are led to the slaughter to furnish food for man. The wild beasts of the forest, still ferocious and terrible, have their lairs in the tangled jungle and mountain glen. The eagle still builds his eyrie on the loftiest crag on the mountain peak; the birds still carol the same songs amid the branches of trees that were sung by the feathered tribe among the boughs of the trees in the Garden of Eden. These have changed as little as the grasses or herbs upon which they feed, or the trees beneath which they shelter in the woodlands.

All creeping things are just the same slimy, ugly things they used to be before the serpent incurred the everlasting enmity of mankind. And all the inhabitants of the mighty deep, from the majestic whale that sports in its waters down to the humblest member of the finny tribe, are still unchanged from what they were on the evening of that wonderful day when the Creator said, "Let the waters of the seas be filled with living things."

In one generation inferior animals attain all the perfection of which their nature is susceptible.

That Being, without whose notice not even a sparrow falls to the ground, has provided for the supply of all their wants, and has adapted each to the element in which it moves.

To birds He has given a clothing of feathers, and to quadrupeds a clothing of furs adapted to their latitudes. Where art is requisite in providing food for future need or in constructing a needful habitation, as in the case of the bee and the beaver, a peculiar aptitude has been bestowed which, in all the inferior races of animals, has been found adequate to their necessities. The crocodile that issues from its eggs in the warm sand and never sees its parent, becomes, it has been well said, as perfect and as knowing as any crocodile.

But not so with man, he comes into the world the most helpless and dependent of living creatures, long to continue so. If deserted by parents at an early age, so that he can learn only what the experience of one life may teach him, he grows up in some respects inferior to the brutes themselves.

The condition of the inhabitants of this section, at the time of the coming of the pioneers, was that of ignorance, superstition and barbarism; they were cruel savages living upon roots and herbs, wild fruit, fish, and the flesh of wild animals; their habitations were wigwams or huts; their avocation was hunting and fishing; their language was but a jargon; they loved to wage war against each other and the neighboring tribes; and were in all respects scarcely above the wild beasts that shared with them their haunts in the shady groves and by the side of the winding streams.

But now this county and state have undergone a marvelous change; instead of being the abode of savages they are now occupied by intelligent, energetic, peaceable, civilized men and women, who have founded manifold institutions of learning, constructed villages and magnificent cities, have converted the impenetrable forests into cultivated fields and fruitful orchards; clothed the hills with luxuriant vines and filled the valleys with corn and wine; covered the sterile plains with beautiful gardens and transformed the desolate deserts into fields of bloom and have filled with plenty their granaries; while the music of reapers and mowers, the songs of hardy sons of toil, as they garner in the sheaves from the harvest fields, the murmur of the loom and the shuttle, the roar of the hot breath of furnaces, the hum and whir of wheels and spindles of the mills and factories planted on the banks of the rivers, the music of ringing anvils of the smithies at the forge, the laughter of little children sporting on the schoolhouse playground, fill the land with the sweet melody of songs of industry, while plenty sits enthroned and crowned and sways her joyous scepter over happy homes where millions dwell in peace and sweet content.

These are living monuments to the power and beneficence of education, and to the industry and patriotism of the rugged pioneers.

I do not mean that education whose sole object is to make experts. Not simply to make a man a great navigator, to be able to plough unknown seas in the search of unknown worlds and nothing more; or simply to enable him to have at his tongue's end the writings of those wondrous geniuses who have been enshrined in history and have been adorned by the poets with their rythmic flowers.

Nor to become an expert and to excel in chemistry, or higher mathematics, nor to become a great geologist, to delve into the hidden recesses of the earth, and to be able to read its history in its layers of rocks, clay, granite and mineral. Nor to become a great geographer, who is able to give us the dimensions of the mountains, plains and valleys, and the extent of the rivers, lakes and seas. Nor to become a great philosopher, who can with ease read and interpret the phenomena of nature, and place her marvelous wonders before the minds of men, and cause her to contribute of her stores to the comfort and happiness of mankind.

Nor to become a great astronomer, whose comprehensive mind is able to scan the universe, whose heaven-aspiring spirit is able to soar beyond the boundaries of time and to discover new worlds in the illimitable realm of space, to view them in their grandeur, to tell the story of their past history, and to prophesy of their future.

All this is pleasant and profitable to the inquiring minds of men and women if they are able to obtain it, but the kind of education that I mean is that which makes of men and women good citizens and prepares them for successfully fighting life's battles.

For a nation's wealth consists not alone in its natural resources and broad domain, but in the intelligence and virtues of its citizens; its nobles are not the men of royal birth, but the men of sober thoughts and righteous deeds.

It is upon the education of the people that this county and state must depend for their still greater progress and advancement in the future. For this age above all others demands an educated people for citizenship.

Science and philosophy are revolutionizing the views of mankind. Progress in the arts has transformed all society, increasing a thousand-fold the ease of access and communication, multiplying inconceivably the working forces of the world and too often chaining men to the chariot wheels of mammon.

Truly, we live in a wonderful age of progress and advancement, of education and civilization. A decade now is worth more than half a century would have been in the early history of your commonwealth. The good old times of your forefathers, bordering seemingly on fairyland, so often referred to by those who love to delve amid musty relics of forgotten ages, are not to be compared with your time.

Instead of tearing open the soil of the fields with the roots of a tree, that we may feed on the bounties of nature, as the ancients did, the green covering rolls away with the perfection and grace of art itself, from the polished mould-board of the Pittsburg steel plough.

Machinery casts abroad the seed and the reaping machine gathers the harvest. The loom has taken the place of the old wheel that used to stand in the corner of old granny's log cabin home. And the improved sewing machine has taken the place of the needle-worn fingers, long since silent in the tomb, and fits the fabric for the use of man.

The great steamers that plough the waters of the mighty deep, and the locomotives that encircle the continent on their bands of rails, bearing the freight of commerce to the uttermost parts of the earth, carrying the people to and fro with the rapidity of the winged messengers of the air, from the busy marts of trade, render communication in person and in thought more easy and rapid than in other years.

The discovery of the powers of electricity has also revolutionized the age; the electric light has enabled men to turn the darkness of night into the light of day, and were Diogenes now living, he might pursue the even tenor of his way along the streets of Athens in search of an honest man, with an electric light instead of a lantern.

The telegraph too, has made it possible for men to communicate with each other across seas and lands with the rapidity of lightning itself, and by the telephone man is enabled to converse with his fellow man and even recognize his voice at a distance of thousands of miles. Think too, of the graphophone and the kinetoscope, and countless other inventions more marvelous than any recorded in the history of people of other ages.

These discoveries and inventions, together with the progress made in the realms of science, literature and art, and the advancement in every field of thought, are the wonders of the age. And all these are but a few of the outcroppings, everywhere visible, of this marvelous age of progress.

And let it not be forgotten that liberty is not the child of ignorance, superstition and barbarism, but the child of intelligence, education and progress. The love of liberty is a passion that has been wont to spring up in the hearts of men since time began, so soon as their minds began to expand under education, however crude, in their breasts the fires of liberty began to burn. In all centuries and in all lands that passion has lived and defied rocks and chains and dungeons to crush it; it has strewn the earth with its monuments and shed undying lustre on a thousand fields whereon it has battled in the gloomy night of ages.

And here in Ohio there seems to be something in the scenes of nature, in her beautiful landscapes, in her luxurious vineyards and orchards, full of bud and blossom, in her waving fields and in the dim vistas of her mighty woodlands, in the beauty of bird, of bud, of tree and flower; and in the pure and exhilerating air on her hills, her fields and her meadows, that inspires her youth with an ardent love for knowledge.

And why is it that Babylon, with her hanging gardens; Egypt, with her pyramids and temples — stony records of the twilight of history — Greece, with her wondrous works of art, her power and renown, her temples, and statues of the gods crowning the Acropolis, the golden splendor of her Athens, whose columns and temples have long since passed away; and Rome with her grandeur and might as an empire; when contrasted with the greatest of Time's offerings — this Republic, — in the latter half of the nineteenth century, dwindle into mere specks and fragments of history? The answer is to be found in the increasing volume of intelligence among the masses of our people, behind which stand the public schools, academies, colleges and universities, and that spirit of philanthropy which has been the inheritance of the nations. With continued effort to increase the opportunities for, and to stimulate a stronger desire in the minds of the people for education, what marvelous progress may we expect of the generations of the future.

Oh, royal mind! nor cease thy flight,
While sun and stars dispense their light
  And roll in grand array.
And when these orbs shall cease to shine,
When suns decay and stars decline,
Let onward progress still be thine
  And upward hold thy way.

Ohio has given to the Republic many of its noblest and greatest men. The bar, the press, the pulpit, the rostrum and the schoolroom have all had their worthies. And in the realm of science, literature, art and invention, in oratory and music her sons and daughters have held their own in the march of progress and advancement.

I would not attempt to call the roll of her distinguished statesmen of all political parties in the past lest I should neglect some and thereby appear to discriminate. But it is true that her sons have not been surpassed in the halls of Congress, or in the highest Judicial Tribunals in the land, or in the Executive mansion itself. In all these there have been worthy sons of Ohio, whose names are cherished by the people, for they are names not born to die.

And, living to-day, are men representing the people of this great state as state officials, and as representatives in the Congress of the United States, who are an honor to their people and to their state.

Among those may be mentioned the peerless Sherman, the dashing Foraker, the sturdy Hanna and the genial Bushnell. These are all worthy representatives of a state whose foundation stones were laid by the superb Anthony Wayne ana the indomitable William Henry Harrison.

But one of the greatest of all the dead, and one of the greatest of all the living, of Ohio's distinguished sons, were born within the original territory of this county of Jefferson—Stanton and McKinley.

Edwin M. Stanton sleeps in his narrow home—but he is not forgotten, for he lives in the immortality that blooms beyond the grave, he lives in the record of his country's history, and he lives in the hearts of living millions on hill-top, valley and plain.

Grand indeed is the monument in Trafalgar Square which perpetuates the triumphs of Nelson on the sea, and grand is the Column Vendome which eternizes the victories of Napoleon on the land, but grander and sublimer by far than these is that love implanted in the hearts of American freemen for the invincible Stanton, who, with the immortal Lincoln, laid his life on his country's altar that the Union might live, and all men and women be forever free.

Brave, generous and lofty, endowed with the most exalted sense of honor. We seem now to be gazing upward to the summit of that Olympus upon which he serenely sits.

He seems as one who belonged to that majestic race of beings to whom the ancient Greeks and Romans ascribed qualities and honors almost divine—to some modern Achilles, Hercules, or Theseus, and not a leaf of his laurels has yet had time to wither.

Deep scars of thunder had entrenched;
And Care sat on his faded cheek;
But under brows of dauntless courage.

Stanton stands out in our history as a mighty rock, firm and immovable as the angry waves of rebellion dashed themselves into foam at its base. His faults are but as the setting of the nobility of his nature which rises—

Like some tall cliff that rears its awful form,
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm;
Though round its base the lowering clouds may spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

Dropping a tear of sorrow on the tomb of our dead Stanton, let us turn with a smile of joy to our living McKinley. He too, is a typical American. No other country on the face of the earth could have produced him; simple-mannered, rugged, broad, comprehensive and manly; and a gallantry approaching the spirit of the old cavaliers of romance, possessing talents of the highest order, and an intellect cultivated to the most brilliant point of perfection; joined to all this, refined sensibilities, which constitute the poetry of life and rescue men from the groveling vices and debasing passions of our kind. He is just what the educating forces of our own civilization would make of these attributes. His well-balanced purpose of lofty devotion to duty, his unconquerable courage, his unselfish patriotism, his strict integrity, honesty and nobility of character, his tender love for the wife of his early manhood, all will ever remain glorious examples for the emulation of the young men of this splendid land, to stimulate them to a nobler manhood.

Oh, may our young men draw lessons of patriotism and devotion to their country from the example of his noble life, and from its richness may the future gain its highest aspirations, for out of that life they may construct an ideal on which to mould themselves.

In all the wars during the last century, and especially in the war of the rebellion, Jefferson county furnished its full quota of men, and sent officers and privates to every battlefield. Immortal heroes! They each performed a part in the greatest drama in our Republic's history. They assisted in settling for all time the supremacy of the Union of the states, and the equality of all men. And after the war was over, realizing that mercy is the brightest flower in the victor's wreath, they bade the vanquished return to their homes, lay aside their swords and muskets for the tools and implements of workshop and farm, and mingle with the songs of the birds their joyous songs of contentment, industry and peace. Thus spreading over all the past the mantle of sweet charity and brotherly love, they returned to their homes, and soon as comrades and soldiers in war, were lost in the busy throng of citizens of peace.

Surely the Union soldiers are the assured idols of undying renown; living or dead they shall never be forgotten; and their graves will be known as a shrine so long as chivalry girds on a sword; shrines where patriot knees will bend and patriot eyes will weep as long as freedom has a worshipper and patriotism a devotee.

A few years ago, Jem Hollingsworth, a young miner in a western camp, was turning a windlass by which a bucket filled with earth was being lifted to the surface, while two of his comrades were digging at the bottom of the mine. When within a short distance of the top the handle broke and the bucket started down with fearful force; then, remembering his friends at the bottom of the mine, Jem threw his body into the cogs of the wheel and checked the fall of the bucket. Bystanders seeing the accident hastened to him, and after securing the windlass took poor Jem's bleeding, mangled body out and laid it on a stretcher; as they carried him away one of the men said, "Jem, this is awful," but with a smile on his dying lips poor Jem replied: "What's the difference since it saved the boys?"

Thousands of splendid young men in Jefferson county and in Ohio, over a third of a century ago, threw their strong, manly forms into the iron jaws of rebellion, and when they were taken out mangled and bleeding and sent home on crutches, with empty sleeves, bearing scars and wounds, the legacies of battlefields, their loved ones said when they got home, "Isn't it awful?" Their answer was: "What's the difference since it saved the Union?"

Oh! patriotism superb! Oh, heroism sublime! On this centennial day we must not forget to pay this slight tribute to their memory.

Nor must we forget the patriotic women of this county and state, who in all the years of the past contributed so much to that upbuilding and development. And in the wars it was woman's soft hand that staunched the bleeding wound, and cooled the fevered brow of the soldier boy; it was woman's sweet voice that spoke into his ears words of consolation and cheer; it was woman's tears that fell upon the face of the dead; and it was woman who wrote his last message to the loved ones at home. And they did all of this because of their love for the Union.

Ah, yes:

The maid who binds her warrior's sash
  With smile that well her pain dissembles,
The while beneath her drooping lash
  One starry tear drop hangs and trembles;
Though Heaven alone records that tear
  And fame may never know her story,
Yet her heart hath shed a drop as dear
  As e'er bedewed the field of glory.

The wife who girds her husband's sword
  Mid little ones who weep and wonder,
And bravely speaks the cheering word
  E'en though her heart be rent asunder;
Doomed nightly in her dreams to hear
  The bolts of death around him rattle,
Sheds holy blood as e'er was shed
  On freedom's gory field of battle.

The mother who conceals her grief
  While to her breast her son she presses,
And speaks a few brave words and brief;
  Kissing the patriot brow she blesses:
With no one but her secret God
  To know the pain that weighs upon her,
Sheds holy blood as e'er the sod
  Received on freedom's field of honor.

How wisely the fathers builded—how closely their sons have followed in their footsteps! The wilderness has in reality been made to blossom as the rose. And Ohio to-day is known as the key of the heart of the continent. Two hundred miles square, with an area of over twenty-five millions of acres. This happy intervening of rivers, valleys and uplands, with a fertile soil, covered with forests, fields, orchards and meadows, with rivers and canals, with turnpikes and railroads, and with a population larger than the population of all the original thirteen colonies when they declared their independence. A population of hardy freemen and women larger than that grand old Republic nestled in the shadows of the Alps held within its borders, when its brave, heroic sons, seized with the noble inspiration on the famous battlefield of Sempach, rescued liberty from the grasping hand of Austria; more than Athens crowded within her historic gates when the gallant Greeks at Platæa delivered their beloved land from Persia's threatened yoke of slavery; more than Rome gathered on her seven hills when Julius Cæsar unfurled the banner of equal rights to the balmy breezes of Italy, and amid the wildest acclaim and joyful shouts of multitudes of outraged people, overthrew the aristocratic commonwealth under Pompey on the battlefield of Pharsalia, and reared upon its ruins the Imperial Republic.

This is the glorious result of the work started by the pioneers. Their every endeavor seemed to be to develop their new country and make it pleasant and profitable for their posterity. A beautiful story is told of one of these. John Chapman, or, Johnny Appleseed, as he was called, who came to the Muskingum at an early day and spent his time chiefiy in scattering nurseries of apple trees about the country for the benefit of the coming people. With nothing but his axe and bag of appleseeds he made his pilgrimages far into the wilderness, when he cleared or deadened spots in the woods in which he sowed his appleseeds, and surrounding them with hedges of brush to keep off the deer, left them as gifts to those who should follow. Many an orchard far out in the Firelands and at the head of the Scioto and Miami, and the Wabash was planted from these seedlings.

Marvelous indeed were the struggles of the pioneers—their patience, fortitude and perseverance, their example should be a constant inspiration to their children, spurring them on to nobler deeds and holier endeavors.

In fancy I see a pleasant picture of the old father and mother —they of the pioneers, sitting on the porch of their cottage home, when they are in that period known as the sear and yellow leaf.

Almost alone like pilgrims worn,
  Journeying alone,
Of all the friends they once possessed
  They hardly can find one.

And, as the old father looks into the eyes of that dear companion of his youth and old age, his mind wanders back along the pathway of the years, flecked and checkered with sunshine and cloud, with storm and calm, through years of struggles, trials sorrows and disappointments; out at last into the grand, glorious, crowning beauty and benison of hard won and well deserved success.

He feels prouder of her than ever before, and, as the tears roll down his wrinkled cheeks, he blesses his God for that precious gift of a good companion who has stood by his side in all those years of hardship and sorrow.

And she, with a sweet smile, looking at him through her tears, says in tremulous voice:

John, dear, we are old and gray;
Fifty years since our wedding day,
Shadow and sun for every one as the years roll on;
John, dear, when the world went wry,
Hard and sorrowful then was I,
Ah, lad, how you cheered me then;
Things will be better, sweet wife, again;
Always the same, dear John, my own,
Always the same to your old wife Joan.

John, dear, but my heart was wild
When we buried our baby child,
Until you whispered, Heaven knows best;
And then my troubled heart found rest.
John, dear, 'twas your loving hand
Showed the way to the better land;
Ah, lad, as you kissed away each tear,
Life grew better and Heaven more near.

Hand in hand when our life was May,
Hand in hand when our hair is gray,
Shadow and sun for every one as the years roll on,
Hand in hand when the long night tide
Gently covers us side by side,
Ah, lad, though we know not when
Love will be with us forever then;
Always the same, dear John, my own,
Always the same to your old wife Joan.

By and by the storm of their life was over, and side by side they were laid to rest in the quiet little cemetery, and now each springtime they are covered with the same mantle of green, decked by nature with the same wild flowers blooming over each with impartial love; while at nighttime the whippoorwills chant their solemn requiem to their memory.

Let them peacefully sleep; all honor to their memory—they were Jefferson county's noble pioneers.

Some one has said, that in the pious and magnificent structures of the great temples of the Mohammedan faith the indestructible and infinitely divisible fragrance of the attar of roses was mixed by the builders with the mortar with which they held together the mass and ever since annually ten thousand worshippers have worn the stone pavement of the structure for a hundred generations, and yet find their prayers still imbued with the undying fragrance of this inexhausted and inexhaustible perfume.

These great masses of wealth, and of population and of power, this structure that our fathers built and we occupy is but the assemblage of the great material structure that built up to the visible eye a temple. But the cement that holds it all together is perfumed by the great virtues and the sweet influences of the men and women that laid this moral structure. Let us never lose that perfume, for if we do, that cement will crumble and the structure be destroyed.

As heirs of a splendid heritage we should love our homes, our city, our county, our state, and our Republic. It is only when a people lose their patriotism and become stupid and careless from too much revelry in luxury, peace, and prosperity, that they are in danger. This has been the road along which many nations and many peoples of all the ages in the past have gone down to ruin and decay. And the wrecks of their cities are strewn along the banks of Time's fretful stream. So it was with Tyre, the queen of the desert, her atmosphere ever fragrant with the sweet aroma of spices brought to her fairs by caravans from distant climes; her sails of commerce once whitened many seas, the beautiful horses of Arabia were on sale in her market places. There too could be found the rarest wines, emeralds, corals, embroidered work, and upholstered wares, of the rarest quality and pattern.

But where now is the din of her markets, where the splendor of her magnificent structures? Where the noise of her chariots and the laughter of her charioteers as they thundered along the public thoroughfares? Where, where are all these? Let the rude fishermen, who dry their nets where here palaces once stood; let the crested billows of the sea that now roll where her towers once gleamed in the sunshine; let the humble heathen who now sets his tent where Tyre once sat in glory, answer the question.

Thebes too, was once the brightest star of her time, with her public places filled with wondrous works of art challenging the admiration even of the antiquarian who now digs and studies amid her historic ruins; with columns and temples unsurpassed in the history of mankind, when the artists of the renowned studios of earth brought the products of their brains and hands to win the plaudits of the world's lovers of art.

And Babylon, with her towers, her gates of brass and her granite walls, and with palaces wherein were gathered riches unsurpassed, her hanging gardens also, with trees of rarest foliage, and flowers of varied hues yielding their rich perfume to make fragrant each passing breeze, with fountains sending up their silver sprays to glitter in the sunshise, while amid the spreading boughs of the trees birds of wondrous plumage chanted their sweetest songs, until they filled with enchanting melody the waving woods of Babylon. But finally the storm came; the gates crumbled and the walls fell, and the startled banqueters, hastening from their palaces, joined the revellers in the garden groves and in terror together went down into oblivion.

To-day the pilgrims walk on that scene of desolation, and from the broken stones and pottery they read its history. The owls and bats have their homes amid the ruins of the once far-famed palaces, and amid the awful surging of that billow of desolation that now rolls over the place where Babylon once was, they hear the wild waves saying, "Babylon, oh Babylon, in the midst of thy glory and grandeur thou didst slumber in the dreamy realms of wealth and luxury and inactivity. Thou didst lose thy pride and patriotism, and now thou are no more." So it was with them all, they slept the sleep of the sluggard, and the wiley enemies from without and from within their borders accomplished their ruin and downfall, so that now they live only in legend and story.

Every effort put forth to develop this country and this state still more in the future, to make a dozen vines to grow where but one grew before, to swing to each other their delicious clusters that seem a whole happy rural population held in Dryad spell, whose joined hands a word would set free to urge all with glad coercion into the merry vintage dance:—To cause two trees to spring up where but one appeared before, to hold aloft in their rustic hands their luscious fruit to ripen in the sunshine; to make two stalks of wheat bend their heads to the harvester, where but one nodded its head before, and to make two ears of corn to swing their silken tassels to the breeze, where but one had waved its plume:—Every effort to build churches, colleges and universities; to found homes for the helpless and the aged, asylums for the unfortunate, hospitals for the sick, and art galleries, museums and libraries for the poor:—Every effort to elevate the character of the people, to banish ignorance, vice and impurity from the land, and to cultivate a desire for intelligence, purity, integrity, loyalty and nobility of character in the minds of the masses of our citizens:—Every advancement made in the realms of science, literature and art; every new discovery, every new invention, every encouragement to gifted genius in every field of thought; every act that ennobles humanity and makes the world better. Every wise law promulgated; every effort to cultivate peace and good will among the people of the different sections of our country and uphold an unconquered flag:—Every endeavor to narrow and obliterate forever the widening chasm between capital and labor, to ameliorate and improve the condition of those who toil in the workshops, in the mills and in the fields, until their labor shall be more productive and their lives made brighter; until equal and exact justice shall prevail among all classes of our people, and beautiful virtue and spiritual grace shall light up the homes of the poor, and the shadows of darkness and gloom shall melt away before the dawning light of a brighter day of contentment, happiness and peace:—Every effort to teach the youth in the public schools and elsewhere to love their country and its flag, and to fondly cherish the memory of the pioneers who opened the gates of the Ohio to the tide of a marvelous civilization:—All this is glorious work in which to be engaged, and is worthy of the descendants of those brave and chivalrous men and women.

The pioneers builded better than they knew, for no country in the world furnishes such splendid opportunities for poor boys as this country does, and Ohio is almost in its center.

As we pass through many of the cities and villages of the northwest, we often see some country boy standing by his load of wood and to the passer-by he says, "Mister, will you buy a load of wood?" To him we cannot keep from saying, be courageous, my boy, your lot may be a hard one, your clothes may not be as good as the clothes some boys wear, but be manly, be strong, take advantage of your opportunities, go to the public school, be loyal to your country and true to your fellow men, for once upon a time a boy like you stood on the streets of a western city selling wood, and now a majestic monument rises to mark the place where he once stood, and the "wood hauler," Ulysses S. Grant, is immortal.

And as we pass by a canal we see a little boy, ragged and barefooted, driving his mule along the tow path, and to him we feel like saying:

Don't be discouraged, my lad, your pathway may not be a pleasant one, but remember that once there was a barefoot lad who trod the weary tow path which led from a canal in Ohio to the White House in Washington, and the canal boy, James A Garfield, is immortal.

Then away in a forest we see a stalwart farmer boy splitting rails with which to build an old fashioned worm fence around father's little farm, and to him we feel like saying:

Be brave, my boy; though poverty and hard labor may now be your portion, there's a better time coming by and by, take advantage of our free institutions, for they will furnish the full equipment of shield and spear for the battles of freedom; and don't forget that once there was a homely rail splitter who climbed the granite shaft of fame amid the admiration of the civilized world; with his chisel he carved a place as it were for his fingers and his toes as he climbed hand over hand, and foot over foot, with the weight of a Republic resting on his shoulders and tears rolling down his sad face; he climbed higher and higher, while the shameful darts of malice, hate and envy were hurled at his quivering form; around the base of that shaft the boys in blue with muskets and fixed bayonets guarded him as he climbed, until finally God stretched forth His hand and plucked him from the theater of things to become a saint in glory in the Pantheon of Kings, and the "rail splitter," Abraham Lincoln, is immortal.

Great and happy country. Where manhood reigns alone and every citizen is king. May patriotism and love of country bloom and blossom in the hearts of the present generation of free men and women, even more than they did in the hearts of the fathers and mothers who blazed the pathway through the primeval forests for this unexampled civilization, and as they now sleep in their quiet homes covered each springtime by wild flowers, nature's sweetest emblems of love and affection, while their children continue the great work which they so nobly began.

And gathering together on this centennial day let them unite in a mighty anthem of praise and thanksgiving until their land shall be filled with melody as they sing:

Great God we thank Thee for this our home
  In this bounteous birthland of the free,
Where wanderers from afar may come
  To breathe the pure air of liberty;
Still may thy flowers untrampled spring,
  Thy harvests wave and thy cities rise;
And yet till Time shall fold his wing
  Remain; Oh, remain our cherished paradise.

All hail! Jefferson county. All hail! the dawning of the new century, with hope and joy.

Brief addresses were made by Mayor McKisson, of Cleveland; Hon. John J. Sullivan, of Warren; Lieutenant Governor Asa W. Jones, Rev. John J. McCook, of Hartford, Conn.; Adjutant General Axline, General E. R. Eckley and Hon. E. O. Randall, of Columbus, Secretary of the Ohio Historical Society and official reporter of the Supreme Court.

Gen. Anson G. McCook was called for, but as the general was to accompany Gen. Sickles to the train he begged to be excused.

MILITARY DAY.

The third day was Military day, and no other county has better right to commemorate the memory of the soldier than Jefferson, whether he be of the Revolutionary war, of the Second War for Independence, the Mexican war or the War Between the States. Jefferson county furnished thousands of the bravest men in the Federal army during the War Between the States. It is not necessary to mention their names — the mere mention of this awful conflict at arms between people of the same blood, of the same ancestry, brings before us the names of men who were among the bravest, whether in the line or whether they were in command. Jefferson county is proud of her military record. She is proud to celebrate her prowess in war as well as her greatness in peace.

After an imposing military parade, the addresses were delivered at La Belle park. Rev. J. A. Thrapp presided and ex-Lieut.-Gov. R. G. Richards was the secretary. After the rendition of "Marching Through Georgia," Rev. Dr. R. A. McKinley delivered an eloquent invocation, most feelingly spoken.

Hon. L. Danford, the Congressman from the Jefferson district, delivered an address, reviewing the war and its results, referring to the part taken by Jefferson county in the conflict that resulted in the freedom of the slave.

ADDRESS BY GEN. S. H. HURST.

Fellow Citizens of Jefferson County: —

At the invitation of your committee, I come with pleasure to-day to join you in the impressive ceremonies of your splendid centennial, and to bear to you the greetings of the people of the Scioto valley and of old Chillicothe, where, almost a hundred years ago, the seat of government of our great commonwealth of Ohio was first established. In the midst of your rejoicings we tender you our warm congratulations over your marvelous growth and enrichment during the first century of your life. A hundred years in the history of a people, spanning as it does the average life of three generations of men, must under any circumstances embrace many events of such interest and significance as to make them worthy of commemoration in after years.

But when that hundred years covers the beginnings of things, when in that period were laid the foundations, and was built the superstructure of the splendid life of a free and intelligent people, then indeed it must be crowded with significant events, worthy to be recorded for all time, and to be commemorated and celebrated as the centuries go by.

And so it is most befitting that you gather here in vast assemblage in these centennial days, and with song, and speech, and story, with thundering cannon, and waving banners, and with the gladness of grateful and patriotic hearts build here the monument of your achievements, in the century just closed, by recounting those achievements to your children and proclaiming them to the world. In that hundred years you have transformed Jefferson county from a dark and homeless forest to an Arcadia of beauty—the happy home of fifty thousand souls. You have built here a home-life as sweet and peaceful and charming as the world affords. You have blended here into a social life, where the knightliness of manhood, and the grace and charm of woman have vied with each other to ennoble and enrich—to beautify and to hallow the cricle of your broadened life. You have planted here on every hill and in every valley, the school house and the school, where the education, begun and continued in the home, is enlarged and methodized, and inspired and directed until intelligent thought and ripening scholarship have given you an educational life of which you may be proud.

You have builded here your churches and your altars; have treasured in your hearts and taught to your children the faiths of your fathers; have cherished a sublime faith in the human brotherhood of the race and the Divine Fatherhood of God; in the immortality of the soul, and in the power of a pure religion to transform and ennoble the spiritual life of men.

You have carried forward great industrial enterprises, utilizing the soil, the forest, the mine and all the resources and forces of nature, within your reach, and with skilled and educated labor, as well as with intelligent operative labor, have carried forward the work of the farm, the mine, the furnace, the forge, the mill and the factory until within your borders have grown many of the industries of our advanced civilization. You have exercised all the rights of citizenship, organized and administered local self-government, furnished representative men for state and national responsibilities and honors, and have been especially honored in presenting to the nation the great war secretary, Edwin M. Stanton, who was the right hand of support to Abraham Lincoln during the four years' battle for the nation's life. Thus in your home life, in your social life, in your educational life, in your religious life, in your industrial life, and in your political life you have wrought well, and have ever been an honored integral part of this great central commonwealth of Ohio, whose conservative power, alike in peace and in war is felt and recognized by the whole Republic.

Our noble state, of whose grand manhood and noble record we are so justly proud, is doubtless the most completely representative of American life and character of any of the great sisterhood of states. Into her young life, a hundred years ago, as she grew up to, and into statehood, came the blood and brain and brawn, came the spirit and ambition and hopefulness, came the best manhood and noblest womanhood of thirteen states lying east of us. These lines of western migration, taking in all the coast states from New England to the Carolinas, ran converging into the new territory and state beyond the Ohio river, and Jefferson county was among the first places where these lines centered, and where these noble pioneers determined to locate, to build their homes, and to aid in laying the foundations of the life of the new Republic of Ohio. Into this formative society, these early pioneers brought the diverse thought, and habits and faiths, and industries of the sections from which they came, and here in the cabin homes, in the log school-houses, in the churches, in the social circle, and public assemblage, these ideas and faiths, habits and principles were sifted and smelted, and wrought into a new amalgam of life, out of which ultimately came that splendid product of modern civilization known as "the Ohio man." Then when the young state had been fairly established, the march of empire started westward again, and then all the lines of migration diverged from Ohio, just as they had converged into it, diverged into all the western, northwestern and southwestern settlements, until now our blood and brains have made their impress upon every state that has been formed west of us. And so I say we are closely and deeply akin to all the east, and to all the west, and are pre-eminently the representative state of the great sisterhood, and I am inclined to believe that Jefferson county is the representative county of this great representative state.

For many years I have been going over our state, somewhat every year; have been meeting the farmers and soldiers and citizens generally, and I have noticed with much interest that the lines of migration which used to be distinctly marked across the state, are gradually but certainly fading out, and we are becoming a great homogeneous people. And with another fact I have been impressed, especially as I have studied our rural life and agricultural interests, and that is that the typical, or ideal, American farm-life comes as near finding its realization in Jefferson county and some of her adjoining counties as can be found anywhere in the state or country. You have comparatively very little non-resident land ownership; almost all your practical farmers own the land they live upon. They are attached to it, and take good care of it, and it takes good care of them. You have not many farmers who live in town and farm in the country, and still fewer, I apprehend, who live in the country and farm in town. But I should not farther pursue these lines of thought. The facts relating to your growth and prosperity, and the recollections of your early and latter history and achievements have been the themes of the past two days, and it has been a rare banquet indeed to listen to the eloquent words in which the story of your life has been so beautifully told. This day, however, is set apart for a somewhat different line of thought. To-day is "Military" or "Soldiers' day," and the themes for our thought and reflection are, I apprehend, the love of country and the love of liberty, and of justice, and of political righteousness, and the unselfish and heroic elements in manhood which inspire men to stand by country and liberty and defend them, if need be, to the death. There has rarely been a finer exhibition of devotion to principle than was shown in the spirit of the men who first planned the colonization of the "Ohio country." When the men who formed the Ohio company were about consummating their deal for so many million acres of this virgin soil, there was some opposition to the passage of the ordinance of 1787, dedicating all this northwestern territory forever to freedom. But no dream of fortune, or of empire, could blind those men of New England as to the path of duty, nor bribe them to depart from that path, and so they frankly said to the committee of Congress, with whom the negotiations were being carried on, "We will not buy your land unless slavery is forever prohibited in that territory." And so it came about that this nation and the world is indebted to those brave Puritans who were to have the public lands in consideration for military service, for which the government had no money to pay, were also in that new land to have free homes, "where the blight of slavery could never come." Thus had the spirit of the Revolution made men strong for duty in defense of liberty, whenever the exercise of that courage was demanded.

The three great wars that have tested the quality of American courage and patriotism, and demonstrated the soldierly possibilities of American manhood have on our part been singularly free from passion or from military ambitions. Our fathers did not begin the fight for independence because George Washington wanted to be the president of a new republic, or the ruler of a new empire in America. Nor did they begin the fight with a storm of blind and rebellious passion — seeking to break down established forms and inaugurate the reign of the red-shirted mob. Many of our colonial leaders were statesmen of rare culture and character, whose nobility would have honored any parliament in Europe or the world. Our colonial life of a hundred and fifty years had been a great school of liberty, where all the questions of human right had been thoroughly discussed and were intelligently understood. Our people were calm and peaceful and loyal. They were not ambitious or warlike, but they had studied the gospel of liberty, and enjoyed the blessings of colonial liberty in a high degree, and they were determined there should be no encroachments nor usurpations limiting, or robbing them of the rights they had so long enjoyed. And again and again they pledged their loyalty to the mother country, if King George should abandon and disavow his encroachments on our rights. This he would not do, however, and at once prepared to enforce our complete subjection. But when petitions were unavailing, when there was no longer hope of enjoying a rational degree of freedom under the protectorate of the British government, then they struck for independence, as well as liberty, then the Puritans of the north and the Huguenots of the south, standing together with clasped hands, pledged to each other "life and property and sacred honor," for liberty and independence, and with a courage that commanded the admiration of the civilized world, in a bitter fight of seven weary years, won the first great battle for human rights fought in the western world. It would be trite indeed for me to attempt a eulogy of the soldiers of the Revolution. Their fame is as wide as human civilization. It is sung by our children and voiced by statesmen and poets wherever the English language is spoken. All alike delight to do them honor, and I am sure it is, as it ought to be, a matter of great and honest pride to many who join in this centennial celebration — citizens of Jefferson county, — that you are the direct descendants of these soldiers of the Revolution, and that the blood of such immortal heroes thrills through your veins. With great wisdom the infant republic was guided through four decades of her young life; she had now taken a place among the nations. But England was jealous of her prosperity, was haughty and insolent, chary of granting us the rights that were accorded to other governments by the law of nations. She captured our vessels, searched our ships, and impressed our seamen at her pleasure, denying the right of expatriation to seamen who were English born. Vainly we protested against the perpetration of these wrongs and outrages. Her replies were renewed insults, and there was no redress left us but a resort to arms. The issue was one of international rights. But the principles involved we could not ignore, and so the nation bravely took up the gage of battle. Two years of active war on land and sea brought England to realize her great mistake. The courage and spirit of our American soldiery again commanded the respect of the world, and the concession of England practically to all we claimed vindicated not only the righteousness of our cause but also our ability to enforce the recognition of our rights by the leading nations of the earth. Every part of the state contributed its quota of citizen soldiers in the prosecution of this war, and though the armies were not large, nor the contest very direful, much military, naval and mercantile significance was attached to the two years' struggle.

The repeated outbreaks of border warfare with the Indian tribes of our western territories developed along our frontier a quality of soldiery among the hardy pioneer settlers, and in our small standing army stationed there, capable of coping with the wily and treacherous savages with whom they had to deal, and although there were serious outbreaks and massacres, still they were generally held well in check, and the tides of emigration poured steadily westward, planting and building state after state, and rapidly developing the marvelous resources of the great Mississippi valley.

The war with Mexico, though creating at the time great political and military interest, was in fact scarcely a test of the quality of our soldiery, since the enemy we were engaged with was incapable of meeting a daring and skillful foe. And so our marches to the capital of that country were a succession of almost unbroken triumphs.

But the war of the Rebellion, or the late Civil War, that from '61 to '65 menaced the life of the republic, constitutes a chapter in our military and civic history which utterly overshadows, dwarfs and belittles all that had gone before. That great battle of four years was a struggle of such magnitude, of such bitterness, of such determined purpose — on the one side to destroy, and on the other side to save the great Republic — it was so deeply and cruelly direful in its character, and its results were so immeasurably important to the American people and to the whole civilized world, aye, to the whole human race, that it seems as if all our history, and all that was possible to us of suffering, of peril, of disaster and defeat, of agony and despair, as well as of courage and hope and triumph and destiny, were crowded into those fearful years. And yet it came to us so suddenly and unexpectedly—we were so utterly unprepared to meet the causeless revolt — it was so out of the realms of human reason to think that it would come, that it was many times more direful than it could have been had we known it was coming. It defied credulity that such an attack could come to us from our own brothers, under our own roof-tree, to despoil our common heritage, to spread the blighting curse of slavery, and supplant the Republic of Washington by the slave empire of Jefferson Davis.

We put from us the belief that the South would make war upon us. It was so unnatural, and we refused to prepare even for defense, lest we should fan the fires of passion, and provoke them to hostilities. We were on our knees praying God for peace and brotherhood, while they were drilling and preparing for the conflict. They had every power of the government in their hands.

They had the President, and had inspired him to believe and to say that there was no power in the government to conserve its life. They had Congress, where they met the arguments of our Senators with brutal and cowardly assault. They had the Supreme Court from whose chief they had just heard the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision. They had the Secretary of War, who submitted to the seizure of our southern forts and arsenals and of large quantities of arms and army stores. They had the Secretary of the Navy, who had sent our little navy to the ends of the earth. They had the Secretary of the Treasury, who had bankrupted not only the treasury, but our credit also. They had control of the foreign diplomacy so that they could misrepresent to the nations the spirit and purpose of our American political life and institutions. They had the commander-in-chief of the army, who, like the President, was mainly distinguished for his age and imbecility. They had everything in their own hands, and they had used all these offices and opportunities to plot and organize treason against the Republic, even while the oath of allegiance to the old government was upon their souls. And all through the winter of 60-61, during the five months intervening between the election and inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, they had promoted the rebellion with all the power they could command. Seven states had gone through the pretended form of seceding from the Union, and had set up a confederate government at Montgomery, Alabama, and the only things necessary to put the revolt on its feet were the organization and equipment of a south-our army and the firing of the southern heart. And to these two things the fire-eating Southerners devoted all their energies. The new confederate government was active in raising men and money and in collecting supplies and material of war for the conflict which they diligently invited. But our own Government would do nothing lest a conflict might be precipitated.

The first month of Mr. Lincoln's service was passed in the same way, he hoping against hope that better counsels might prevail and waiting till the sleeping patriotism of the north awakened to assert itself in case decisive action became necessary. The attack upon and capture of Fort Sumter at Charleston Harbor, brought on the crisis. It awakened the whole Nation, north and south, to the startling fact that war was upon us, and was actually begun.

The war spirit now swept over the north as it had over the south, like wildfire. The time had come for action. Mr. Lincoln called for 75,000 men, and 300,000 responded. The south had constantly asserted that northerners were cowards, and would not fight. Now the spirit of our northern manhood was awakened, as we shall see. Still everything was for the time against us; we had neither organization, discipline, nor drill. We had poor arms, and inefficient officers, and were really incapable of doing efficient service. But we were there, we answered to the roll call, and were ready for any duty that came to us in defense of the Republic.

Our successes in western Virginia during the summer of '61 led many to think the struggle would be short. But the sickening disaster at First Bull Run dispelled that hope entirely. And now we were compelled to look the matter squarely in the face, and to recognize the fact that the war might last for years, desperate and direful as it afterwards proved to be. And now for the first time we began to appreciate the character and magnitude of the work before us.

And yet there was nothing else to do but to fight. There was no answer to the gage of battle but battle. And if we were not able to move upon the enemies of our country in aggressive fight, then we must assume the defensive, until we were ready to fight them in open field. Our statesmen had beaten them in argument in Congress and in the Senate; and when they could not answer our great Senator with words and arguments they answered him with the bludgeon of a bully.

We had beaten them at the ballot-box and when they had no answer to that they said, "We can whip you," and we said, "Maybe, but so long as you make war upon our country and its flag, we'll fight you to the death." Deep in our hearts we had unquestioning faith in the righteousness of our cause, and although the triumph was postponed, still we had the men and we had boundless resources. Skill in arms and genius in leadership, ability to fight a disciplined foe would come with time and discipline and experience. And so with a deep conviction of the sacredness of our cause, and an abiding faith in its ultimate triumph, we pledged our lives and loyalty to God and the country "for three years or during the war." Young men, most of us, just entering the fair fields of life. Joyful and hopeful in the bright dream of the future, happy in our surroundings and our homes, we were—yet what could we do but answer to the drum beat when the country called us to duty. And so without a tear we laid our lives upon the altar, almost without a pang we gave up home and friends and loved ones—almost without a regret we severed the tenderest and holiest ties of life for duty. What else could we do? Could the great battle of the ages for free manhood and free government, and free civilization in this western world be fought and we not there? No, no, we had to go; all that was heroic in our natures, all that was noble and true within our souls bade us go; and answering to that heroic inspiration, you, and you, and you, gave up everything for duty. Out of the hills and villages of Jefferson county, out of the homes that crown your hills and gem your valleys you came by hundreds and by thousands, answering the call of duty. Oh, if the grand old Puritan heroes whose blood flows through your veins, could have seen you muster to God's grand army of freemen, or could have seen you fight for what they had bequeathed you, every hero, living or dying, would have heard their proud commendation, "soldier, well done! well done!"

And it ought to be a matter of deep pride to you, my comrades, that in the providence of God it was your privilege to be a soldier in the grand army of free civilization and to have done battle for liberty that shall bear fruit not only in this country, but throughout the world. Have you ever attempted to grasp the real magnitude of the great struggle? Have you, in imagination even, rode along its picket and army lines from the mouth of the Potomac to the Rio Grande? Have you counted a million and a half of men on duty at a given time, or more than four million in the grand aggregate of the two armies during the fight? Have you seen ten thousand cannon wheeling into battery along that line, or observed the hills and valleys of a dozen states ribbed with rifle pits as though some great plowshare of nature had torn them up? Or have you seen those armies moving southward over vast areas as the victorious armies of the Union bore down upon the foe and drove them toward the gulf? If you have seen all these you can yet have only an approximate idea of the vastness of the struggle. We had now thirty-four states. Three were border states torn and divided in sentiment. Eleven states with twelve million people were in revolt and twenty states with twenty million people stood by the flag; while all the energies and resources of both sides were devoted to the business of making war, the one side to destroy and the other to defend the Republic. But if the contest was grand in its physical proportions, how much grander, how infinitely grander it was in the interest involved, and in the far-reaching significance of its results. Not from the Potomac to the Rio Grande alone, but from the Klondyke to Cape Horn, nay, wherever men are now struggling for a freer life and a nobler manhood, our triumph was felt as a mighty inspiration and will continue to be an inspiration of hope while our proud flag floats upon the breeze.

The fact that both armies were composed of men of heroic blood, made the combat as direful and costly in human life as it was vast in proportions.

And to-day, my comrades, as we gather here in this great reunion, it is a deep delight that we may look back over those years of battle, and suffering, and triumph, and feel that we were right, and know that God was with us, and crowned our courage with success. Aye, and a deep delight, too, to look out over our great free country, to-day, and know that this great American

Republic—built of fifty-five Republics,—is the grandest nation and the first power of the earth. It was but the other day that England's grandest statesman, the "old man eloquent," Lord Gladstone, declared in a public speech, "Now and henceforth America leads the world." And so, my comrades, we shall count it the glory of our lives to have lived in the most eventful age of the world, and to have shared in the labor, and suffering, and manly devotion to patriotic duty, that saved the nation's life, brought liberty to millions and happiness to untold millions more. And now in conclusion, let me say that I recall with pride and joy, every influence, every agency, every effort, every consecration and every sacrifice, that contributed to this marvelous advancement of free civilization in our own times, and made the outlook for the future brighter and more hopeful for the whole human race. I remember how in those perilous days at the beginning of the struggle our hearts ached with suspense and anxiety. How the people met together by communities and counties and states and pledged to each other their devotion to the Union. It was inspiring indeed to attend those union meetings and warm your heart in their patriotic fires. But I recall the fact that there was one great union convention that was grander than all the rest—grander because vaster—and more far-reaching in its scope. In that great union meeting the Rocky Mountains presided, and New England was "orator of the day." At the opening, Niagara thundered her mighty solos till she wakened the echoing continent. Then the Mississippi with her thousand murmuring voices sang that beautiful chant, "E Pluribus Unum," "many in one," "many in one," "many in one." The oration, full of patriotic sentiment and heroic fire, thrilled every heart with the story of Plymouth Rock and Lexington and Bunker Hill. Then the Savannah and Etowah sang "Marching Through Georgia." The hills and prairies and lakes were the committee on resolutions, and when they brought in their report they simply said, "Resolved, That we are one; one and indivisible; now and forever; and what God hath joined together let no man put asunder." And when the vote was taken every mountain and every hill, every river and every lake, every prairie and every plain in all the land voted, "Aye, aye, we are one, we are one."

Thursday was closed, as was also Wednesday, by a magnificent display of fireworks.

STEUBENVILLE AND JEFFERSON COUNTY AFTER A HUNDRED YEARS.

Steubenville to-day is one of the most beautiful of Ohio cities. It is a city of beautiful homes, and while there are no wealthy people living in Steubenville there are very few paupers. The homes are mostly owned by those who occupy them, a condition that speaks volumes for the thrift of the residents. The streets are all paved with fire brick and the drainage is complete, there being no disease resulting from miasma. The sidewalks are lined with magnificent shade trees, most of which were planted in 1879-80 by W. H. Mooney, W. H. Hunter and A. F. Matlack, who formed a self-constituted committee known at the time as the Tree Commission. The city is most favorably located on the second bank of the Ohio river, the streets being at right angles connecting with an excellent system of McAdam roads leading in every direction. The business houses are substantially built, many of them being elegant in architecture and massive in construction, while the school houses are commodious and church buildings magnificent. The manufacturing consists of iron, paper, glass, pottery, brick, flour, while the surrounding country is fertile and peopled with industrious farmers, who produce wheat, corn, oats, garden vegetables, fruit, live stock, wool, etc. The city's population is about fifteen thousand, while that of the county is about forty-three thousand. There are many towns in the county, the most populous of which are Toronto, Mingo, Dillonvale, Mt. Pleasant, Smithfield, Irondale, Brilliant. There is much coal mined in the southern part of the county and Dillonvale has grown to a large town as a result of this industry. One of the principal industries of the county is the manufacture of the products of fire clay along the Ohio river. The towns on the river above the city, including Toronto, have become noted for the manufacture of paving brick, fine building brick, sewer pipe and architectural terra cotta, the clay industry being now perhaps the most important in the county, while a few years ago iron took the lead in importance; that is to say that more factories are engaged in this line than in any other and it is also likely true that more people are employed in the terra cotta works, including clay mining, than in glass or iron. The transportation facilities are ample by rail or water.

ADDENDA

TO THE PATHFINDERS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.

The time allotted the compiler by the Society in which to prepare the matter foregoing precluded the possibility of examination of original papers to the extent necessary for an absolutely correct historical statement, and the demand for delivery of copy into the hands of the printer forced completion of manuscript before the compiler could receive information for which he had applied to authorities, and consequently the addenda following appears essential to a clearer understanding of the previous pages.

THE LOCHRY (CLARK'S) EXPEDITION.

The reference to the difficulty of procuring a fuller account of the Defeat of Archibald Lochry and his men at the mouth of the Big Miami, resulting in the massacre of many of his soldiers, which, many consider, one of the exciting causes of the massacre of the so-called Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten, had only reference to the Archives of Pennsylvania. There are other accounts of the defeat, among them, that given by Roosevelt in "Winning of the West," in which according to Consul W. Butterfield, the most painstaking of all the historians of the West — the most noted, the most conscientious, so careful in statement that if at all possible to obtain, he accepts nothing as true without the testimony of the original paper, many errors were made, Roosevelt even spelling Lochry "Loughrie." George and not Simon Girty was with the Indians in this battle. He was not commander of the British forces (the Indians), but was under Capt. Brant, who, in a quarrel after the battle, struck Simon Girty on his face with his sword, inflicting a serious wound which disfigured Girty for life. The quarrel was the result of the boast made by Brant that he had captured Col. Lochry and his men, Simon Girty at the time of the battle being at Louisville watching for the appearance of George Rogers Clark, with whom Lochry was to have gone to Detroit on a very important expedition, the object being the capture of the British garrison at that point. Brant was so elated over his success that he boasted to Simon Girty, whose contingent had failed in the expected capture of Clark, which so angered Simon that he denounced Brant as a liar, whereupon Brant inflicted the wound that augmented the repulsiveness of his countenance. Girty often boasted of the scar as having been received in many conflicts with the Americans.

The local interest in Lochry's Defeat comes of the fact that descendants of the Westmoreland county rangers are residents of Ohio and Jefferson county.

The accompanying account of the Defeat of Lochry is the fullest consecutive report of the battle the compiler has been able to obtain, and for it he is indebted to the editor of The Aurora (Ind.) Bulletin.

LOCHRY'S DISASTROUS DEFEAT.

The surprise and defeat of Archibald Lochry and the massacre of his men is the first conflict on record between the Indians and the whites on the soil of Indiana. It took place in the last year of the Revolutionary war and was really one of the battles of the Revolution, as the Indians engaged in it were allies of the British. The winding stream which forms the boundary between Dearborn and Ohio counties, at the mouth of which the bloody battle was fought, bears the name of the unfortunate colonel who there lost his life. It is the purpose of this chapter to give all the facts now known concerning Col. Lochry's expedition and its disastrous termination.

We have accounts of the expedition by two men who participated in it — Capt. Robt. Orr and Lieut. Isaac Anderson. Capt. Orr, whose account is published in Western Annals, was wounded by having his arm broken in the engagement; he was carried off a prisoner to Sandusky, where he remained several months; at length, finding that they could not cure his wound, the Indians took him to the hospital at Detroit, whence he was transferred to Montreal in the winter, and exchanged with other prisoners at the end of the war; afterward he was appointed a judge of Armstrong county, Penn., which position he held at his death, in 1833, in his eighty-ninth year. Lieut. Anderson's account is published in McBride's pioneer Biographies of Butler county, Ohio. The date of the engagement, as given by Capt. Orr, is August 25, 1781, by Lieut. Anderson, August 24. The latter is probably the correct date, as Anderson kept a journal during the expedition.

Early in the summer of 1781 Col. Archibald Lochry, who was county lieutenant of Westmoreland county, Penn., was requested by Col. George Rogers Clark to raise a military force and join him in a contemplated military movement against the Indian tribes of the Northwest. Capt. Orr, by his own exertions, raised a company of volunteer riflemen. Capts. Stokely and Shannon commanded each a company of rangers, and Capt. Campbell a company of horse. The party amounted to 107 men. Col. Lochry was the only field officer in command. It was Col. Clark's original intention to rendezvous at the mouth of the Great Miami, and to proceed up that river with his expedition, but he subsequently changed his plan and ordered Col. Lochry to follow him to the falls of the Ohio.

The force was rendezvoused at Carnahan's block-house, eleven miles west of Hannastown, July 24, and on the next day they set out for Fort Henry (Wheeling) by way of Pittsburgh, where it was arranged that they should join the army under Clark. On arriving there they found that Clark had gone twelve miles down the river, leaving for them some provisions and a traveling boat, with directions to follow him. After preparing some temporary boats for the transportation of the men and horses, which occupied ten days, they proceeded to join Clark. Arriving at the place where he had halted, they found he had gone down the river the day before, leaving Maj. Creacroft with a few men and a boat for transportation of the horses, but without either provisions or ammunition, of which they had an inadequate supply. Clark had, however, promised to await their arrival at the mouth of the Kanawha River, but on reaching that point, they found that he had been obliged, in order to prevent desertion among his men, to proceed down the river, leaving only a letter fixed to a pole directing them to follow.

Their provisions and forage were nearly exhausted; there was no source of supply but the stores conveyed by Clark; the river was low and they were unacquainted with the channel, and could not therefore hope to overtake him. Under these embarrassing circumstances Col. Lochry dispatched Capt. Shannon with four men in a small boat with the hope of overtaking the main army and securing supplies, leaving Capt. Shannon's company under the command of Lieut. Isaac Anderson. Before Capt. Shannon and his men had proceeded far they were taken prisoners by the Indians, and with them was taken a letter to Clark, detailing the situation of Lochry's party. About the same time Col. Lochry arrested a party of nineteen deserters from Clark's army, whom he afterwards released, and they immediately joined the Indians.

The savages had been apprised of the expedition, but had previously supposed that Clark and Lochry were traveling together, and through fear of the cannon which Clark carried, refrained from making an attack. Apprised now by the capture of Shannon and his men and by the reports of the deserters, of the weakness of Lochry's party, they collected in force below the mouth of the Great Miami with the determination to destroy them. They placed these prisoners in a conspicuous position on the north shore of the Ohio, near, it was said, the head of an island, and promised to spare their lives on condition that they would hail their companions as they passed and induce them to surrender. This island is about three miles below the mouth of the creek named after the commander. Col. Lochry and his men made slow progress in descending the Ohio, and despairing of overtaking Clark's army, they landed, August 24, about 10 o'clock in the morning, at a very attractive spot on the north side of the Ohio at the mouth of a creek, about ten miles below the mouth of the Great Miami. Here they removed their horses ashore and turned them loose to graze. One of the party had killed a buffalo, and all, except a few set to guard the horses, were engaged around the fires which they had kindled in preparing a meal from it. Suddenly they were assailed by a volley of rifle balls from an overhanging bluff, covered with large trees, on which the Indians immediately appeared in great force. The men thus surprised, seized their arms and defended themselves as long as their ammunition lasted, and then attempted to escape by means of their boats. But the boats were unwieldy, the water was low, and the force too much weakened to make them available, and the whole party, unable to escape or defend themselves, were compelled to surrender.

Immediately the Indians fell upon and massacred Col. Lochry and several other prisoners, but were restrained by the arrival of the chief who commanded them, the celebrated Brant, who afterward apologized for the massacre. He did not approve, he declared, of such conduct, but it was impossible entirely to control his Indians. The murder of the prisoners was perpetrated in revenge for the massacre of the Indian prisoners taken by Broadhead's army on the Muskingum a few months before. The Indians engaged numbered 300 or more, and consisted of various tribes, among whom the prisoners and plunder were divided in proportion to the number of warriors of each tribe engaged.

The next day they set out on their return to the Delaware towns. There they were met by a party of British and Indians, commanded by Col. Caldwell and accompanied by the two Girtys and McKee, who professed to be on their way to the falls to attack George Rogers Clark. They remained there two days. Brant, with the greater part of the Indians, returned with Caldwell toward the Ohio. A few only remained to take charge of the prisoners and spoils. These they separated and took to the towns to which they were assigned. The prisoners remained in captivity until the next year which brought the Revolutionary war to a close. More than one-half of the number who left Pennsylvania under Col. Lochry never returned.

The foregoing account is substantially that given by Capt. Orr. Some doubt has been expressed whether Brant was the leader of the Indians. James McBride, in his sketch of Isaac Anderson, says that the Indians who were waiting opposite the island below to intercept the party, were informed of the landing of the whites by runners. According both to McBride and Anderson there were two attacking parties of Indians, one in the woods and the other in canoes on the river.

Lieut. Isaac Anderson kept a daily journal from the time he set out on the expedition until his return. Without abridgment we insert the first part of the journal covering the month of August, preserving the original spelling of proper names.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT. ISAAC ANDERSON.

"August 1, 1781. We met at Col. Carnahan's in order to form a body of men to join Gen. Clark on the expedition against the Indians.

"Aug. 2d. Rendezvoused at said place.

"Aug. 3d. Marched under command of Col. Lochry to Maracle's mill, about 83 in number.

"Aug. 4. Crossed Youghagania river.

"Aug. 5. Marched to Dover's ferry.

"Aug. 6. To Raccoon settlement.

"Aug. 7. To Capt. Mason's.

"Aug. 8. To Wheeling Fort, and found Clark had started down the river about twelve hours.

"Aug. 9. Col. Lochry sent a quartermaster and officer of the horse after him, which overtook him at Middle Island and returned; then started all our foot troops on seven boats and our horses by land to Grave Creek.

"Aug. 13. Moved down to Fishing Creek; we took up Lieut. Baker and 16 men, deserting from Gen. Clark, and went that day to middle of Long Reach, where we stayed that night.

"Aug. 15. To the Three Islands, where we found Maj. Creacroft waiting on us with a horse-boat. He with his guard, six men, started that night after Gen. Clark.

"Aug. 16. Col. Lochry detailed Capt. Shannon with 7 men and letter after Gen. Clark, and we moved that day to the Little Connaway (Kanawha) with all our horses on board the boats.

"Aug. 17. Two men went out to hunt who never returned to us. We moved that day to Buffalo Island.

"Aug. 18. To Catfish Island.

"Aug. 19. To Bare Banks.

"Aug. 20. We met with two of Shannon's men, who told us they had put to shore to cook, below the mouth of the Siotha

(Scioto) where Shannon sent them and a sergeant out to hunt. When they got about half a mile in the woods they heard a number of shots which they supposed to be Indians firing on the rest of the party, and they immediately took up the river to meet us; but, unfortunately, the sergeant's knife dropped on the ground and it ran directly through his foot and he died of the wound in a few minutes. We sailed all night.

"Aug. 21. We moved to the Two Islands.

"Aug. 22. To the Sassafras Bottom.

"Aug. 23. Went all day and all night.

"Aug. 24. Col. Lochry ordered the boats to land on the Indian shore, about 10 miles below the mouth of the great Meyamee (Miami) river to cook provisions and cut grass for the horses, when we were fired on by a party of Indians from the bank. We took to our boats, expecting to cross the river, and was fired on by another party in a number of canoes, and soon we became a prey to them. They killed the Col. and a number more after they were prisoners. The number of our killed was about forty. They marched us that night about eight miles up the river and encamped.

"Aug. 25. We marched eight miles up the Meyamee river and encamped.

"Aug. 26. Lay in camp.

"Aug. 27. The party that took us was joined by one hundred white men under the command of Capt. Thompson and three hundred Indians under the command of Capt. McKee.

"Aug. 28. The whole of the Indians and whites went down against the settlements of Kentucky, excepting a sergeant and eighteen men, which were left to take care of sixteen prisoners and stores that were left there. We lay there until the fifteenth of Sept.

"Sept. 15, 1781. We started toward the Shawna towns on our way to Detroit."

Return of the men killed and taken August 24, 1781, upon the Ohio river under the command of Col. Lochry.

Killed: Col. Lochry, Capt. Campbell, Ensigns Ralph Maxwell and Cabel.

Prisoners: Maj. Creacroft, Adj't Guthree, Quartermaster Wallace, Capts. Thomas Stokely, Samuel Shannon and Robert Orr; Lieuts. Isaac Anderson, Joseph Robinson, Samuel Craig, John Scott, Milr Baker; Ensign Hunter.

Privates killed and taken prisoners in Capt. Stokely's company:

Killed: Hugh Gallagher, Isaac Patton, Douglass, Pheasant, Young, Gibson, Smith, Stratton, Baily and John Burns.

Prisoners: John Trimble, William Mars, John Seace, Michael Miller, Robert Watson, John Allenton, Richard Fleman, James Cain, Patrick Murphy, Abraham Anderson, Michael Haire.

Capt. Campbell's company:

Killed: William Allison, James McRight, Jonathan McKinley.

Prisoners: William Husk, Robert Wilson, James Dunseth, William Weatherington, Keany Quigley, Ezekiel Lewis.

Capt. Orr's company:

Killed: John Forsyth, William Cain, Adam Erwin, Peter Maclin, Archibald Erskin, John Black, John Stewart, Joseph Crawford.

Prisoners: Adam Owry, Samuel Lefaver, John Hunter, Joseph Erwin, Mans Kite, Hugh Steer, Hugh Moore.

Capt. Shannon's company:

Killed: Ebenezer Burns, killed by accident.

Prisoners: Solomon Aikens, John Lever, Jonas Fisher, George Hill, John Porter, John Smith.

Lieut. Baker's company:

Killed: D'Allinger, George Butcher, John Rowe, Peter Brickman, Jonas Peters, Jonas Brooks.

Prisoners: John Catt, Vol Lawrence, Jacob Lawrence, Christopher Tait, Charles Martlin, William Rourk, Wnd. Franks, Abraham Righley, George Mason.

Lieut. Anderson's company:

Killed: Samuel Evans, Sergt. Zeanz Harden, Matthew Lamb, John Milegan, John Corn.

Prisoners: Norman McLeod, Sergt. James McFerson, William Marshall, Denis McCarty, Peter Conely, John Ferrel.

Taken prisoners in Maj. Creacroft's company:

Thomas James, Thomas Adkson, John Stakehouse, William Clark, Elihu Risely, Alexander Burns.

Forty-eight privates and twelve officers taken; five officers and thirty-six privates killed. — (From History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties, Ind. 1885.)

SIEGE OF FORT LAURENS AND ITS RELIEF.

The fact that the relief of Fort Laurens of which siege Hildreth's account is given on page 186, rendezvoused at Mingo gives additional interest to Jefferson county in the first fortification built by the Federal Government in the territory northwest of the Ohio. The accompanying account of Fort Laurens was kindly prepared for the compiler by Consul W. Butterfield from his work "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," an authority accepted and quoted by all writers of Trans-Allegheny History.

In the "History of the Girtys," one of the most valuable of his contributions to Western history in that he corrects many of the errors of statement made by early writers and perpetuated by others, Butterfield makes many references to Fort Laurens. On page 95 he says: "The siege (although a failure), considering that the fort was a regularly built fortification, planned by an engineer of the regular army of the United States, and garrisoned by regular troops, and considering, also, the persistency of the besiegers, nearly all of whom were savages, and who closely invested the post for twenty-five days, was the most notable of any in the West during the Revolution." Aside from its general importance there is peculiar local interest in Fort Laurens on account of the fact that it was at this fort that White Eyes was killed by an American soldier, either through treachery or by accident. White Eyes was one of the Indian chiefs loyal to the Americans in the Revolutionary conflict, and was the father of Capt. White Eyes, the Indian killed in Jefferson county after peace was declared after Wayne's victory, by Carpenter, who was indicted for the crime, this being the first murder case in the county.

HISTORY OF FORT LAURENS.[1]

BY CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

[Extracts from the Washington-Irvine Correspondence.]

Alarming intelligence now reached McIntosh from the wilderness west. He was reproached for his tardiness by friendly Indians, who threatened that all their nations would unite in the Tuscarawas valley to give him battle, and oppose his progress to Detroit. Orders were, therefore, immediately issued for twelve hundred men to get ready to march. On the fifth of November, the movement of the army westward commenced, including the whole force, except one company, which was left under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Campbell, of the Thirteenth Virginia regiment, to bring on the "long-looked for supplies."[2] For fourteen days, the march continued before the Tuscarawas was reached,[3] a distance of only about seventy miles from Fort McIntosh. This slow progress was caused by the "horses and cattle tiring every four or five miles." It was upon this river, where the army had now encamped, that the commander anticipated meeting the enemy; but only a few Delawares from Coshocton, and some Moravian Indians[4] were found, and they were friendly.

---

[1] Written in 1881. In the *History of the Girtys*, (pp. 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 109, 113, 114) written nearly ten years after, may be found much additional information concerning the fort, also a few corrections.—C. W. B.

[2] McIntosh to Washington, 27 Apr., 1779, in Sparks' Corr. Amer. Rev., vol. II, p. 284. Jacob White's pension statement, 1833, MS. copy. Dunlavy's pension statement, MS. copy, previously cited. McIntosh's orderly book, 1778, MS.

[3] That is to say there were fourteen marching days. The army did not make its camp on the Tuscarawas until November 21st: McIntosh's orderly book, 1778, MS. McIntosh in his letter to Washington, of 27 Apr., 1779, just cited, says: "We were fourteen days upon our march." The route was the same as the one followed by Colonel Henry Bouquet, on his march against western Indians in 1764. For a description of the course taken by that officer, consult Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, Philadelphia printed, London reprinted, 1766, pp. 11-13; or, Robert Clarke & Co.'s reprint, Cincinnati, 1868, pp. 46-51.

[4] The Moravian Indians (themselves mostly Delawares) were of those gathered in the valley of the Tuscarawas, by Moravian missionaries.

The gathering of the savages to impede his march, he was told, had been abandoned.[5]

At this juncture, McIntosh was informed that the necessary supplies for the winter had not reached Fort McIntosh, and that very little could be expected. He was thus disappointed in all his "flattering prospects and schemes" against Detroit. There was now no other alternative but to return as he came, without effecting any valuable purpose, thereby confirming the savages in the opinion already formed of the weakness of the Americans, and combining them all more completely with the British,—or, to build a strong stockade fort upon the Tuscarawas, and leave as many men as provisions would justify, to secure it until the next season, to serve as a bridle upon the Indians in their own country.[6] The commander, with the unanimous approbation of his principal officers, chose the latter alternative; and a post was commenced where there had been one formerly,[7] on the west bank of the river, below the mouth of Sandy creek,[8]—the whole army being employed upon it while provisions lasted; not, however, without some trouble, as the militia whose homes were west of the mountains, were in a mutinous condition. The fortification was a regularly laid out work, inclosing less than an acre of ground, and was named Fort Laurens, in honor of the president of congress. It was the first military post of the government erected upon any portion of the territory now constituting the State of Ohio. Leaving a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, with scanty supplies, under command of Colonel John Gibson, to finish and protect the work, McIntosh, with the rest of his army, returned, very short of provisions,[9] to Fort McIntosh, where the militia under his command were discharged "precipitately."[10]

---

[5] That the enemy seriously contemplated meeting McIntosh in the valley of the Tuscarawas, there is no evidence.

[6] Such were the reasons given by McIntosh to Washington, sometime afterward, for building Fort Laurens, as ——, ——, and their dependents, for want of other matter, have cried it down, as a designed slaughter-pen, impossible to maintain; and endeavored to prejudice the whole country against it, although the former laid the plan that was afterwards adopted for taking and keeping Detroit."—McIntosh to Washington 27 April, 1779, previously cited.

[7] Compare Bouquet's Expedition, London reprint, p. 13, or Cincinnati reprint, pp. 51, 52, as to the erection of a fort upon the right bank of the Tuscarawas, in 1764, by Col. Bouquet. The fortification commenced by McIntosh was close by the site of Bouquet's.

[8] A short distance south of the present village of Bolivar, Tuscarawas county, Ohio.

Washington soon after, in ignorance of McIntosh's movements beyond the mountains, declared that the latter ought to decide finally, if he had not already done so, whether he could, with the force, provisions, stores, prospect of supplies, and means of transportation, which he then had, advance to Detroit; and whether the advantages or disadvantages of a winter expedition preponderated. The return of the Fort Pitt commander to the Ohio river was an emphatic decision, already given, in opposition to a winter campaign against that post.

McIntosh now made such disposition of his continental troops and independent companies for the winter as, in his judgment, would protect the border, and facilitate future operations. The Eighth Pennsylvania regiment was assigned to Fort Pitt. The men left in Fort Laurens were a part of the Thirteenth Virginia. The residue, with the independent companies, were divided between Fort McIntosh, Fort Henry, Fort Randolph, and Fort Hand; with a few at inferior stations. There was not one of the militia retained under pay at either of these posts.

After the main army left Fort Laurens, the work upon that post was continued. "I have already finished setting up the pickets," wrote the officer in charge, toward the latter part of December, "and, in a few days, I think I can bid defiance to the enemy." "The distressed situation of the men," he continued, "prevents the work from going on as briskly as it otherwise would." In the meantime, he had opened negotiations with the friendly Delawares at Coshocton for the purchase of some cattle. "With these," he added, "I am in hopes we shall have beef enough, and that we shall have a sufficient quantity of flour until a farther supply can be sent us."[11]

---

[9] "On our march in, we were obliged to eat beef-hides, which had been left to dry; they were first roasted:" Statement of Stephen Burkham, 1845. "Thirty-six dry hides were cut up and roasted in one night:" Ellis' Recollections, 1845.

[10] McIntosh to Washington, 11 Jan., 1779, MS. Mem. of Francis Dunlavy, MS. The army left Fort Laurens on the morning of the 9th Dec., arriving at Fort McIntosh the 13th.

While McIntosh was at Fort Laurens, he ordered one hundred and fifty militia from Westmoreland county, to march as secretly as possible to "the forks of the Alleghany river," and endeavor to destroy some Indians settled on French creek, who were the perpetrators of much of the mischief done in the northern settlements. The men reached a point within "ten miles of the savages, when they returned," declared McIntosh, "without seeing the face of a single Indian."[12] "We proceeded on to French creek," is the subsequent language of the officer having chief command of the expedition, "where we found the Indian town evacuated." "I then went on further than my orders called for," he adds, "in quest of Indians; but our provisions being nearly exhausted, we were obliged to return."[13]

More than half of the month of January, 1779, wore away without anything of importance occurring to the westward of Pittsburg, when Samuel Sample, an assistant quartermaster, sent by Colonel Gibson from Fort Laurens to Coshocton, for corn and other articles, had one man killed,[14] and another desperately wounded,[15] by treacherous Delawares.[16] Toward the close of the month, Captain John Clark, of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, who had commanded an escort of provisions to Gibson, was, on his return, with a sergeant and fourteen men, when only about three miles distant from the fort, attacked by seventeen Indians, chiefly Mingoes, led by Simon Girty, the renegade from Pittsburg, who, immediately after his arrival at Detroit, was employed in the

---

[11] Col. John Gibson to McIntosh, from Fort Laurens, 21 Dec., 1778, MS.

[12] McIntosh to Washington, 11 Jan., 1779, MS. previously cited.

[13] This was the first expedition in force to the northward from the vicinity of Fort Pitt during the war. It was commanded by Col. James Smith. For this officer's account of the march see his Narr. (Lexington, Ky., 1799), p. 75, or Robert Clarke & Co's reprint (Cincinnati, 1870), p. 135-137. Mention of the "French creek expedition," as it was called, is to be found in Col. Rec. of Pa., XIV, 662.

[14] John Nash, of the thirteenth Virginia regiment; killed Jan. 22d.

[15] Peter Parchment, of the same regiment as Nash; wounded on the 27th of the same month; he finally recovered.

[16] Gibson to McIntosh, from Fort Laurens, 13 Feb., 1779, MS.

Indian department as interpreter, and sent back to the savages. The Americans suffered a loss of two killed, four wounded, and one taken prisoner. The remainder, including the captain, fought their way back to the fort. Letters written by the commander of the post, and containing valuable information, were captured by Girty.[17] McIntosh, upon receipt of this intelligence, endeavored to send supplies to the garrison by way of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, but the attempt proved abortive.[18] By the middle of February, provisions began to grow scarce. The commander sent word to McIntosh at Fort Pitt, informing him of the state of affairs, concluding with these brave words: "You may depend on my defending the fort to the last extremity."

On the twenty-third, a wagoner was sent out of Fort Laurens for the horses belonging to the post, to draw wood. With him went a guard of eighteen men. The party were fired upon by lurking savages and all killed and scalped in sight of the fort, except two, who were made prisoners.[19] The post was immediately thereafter invested by the Indians—mostly Wyandots and Mingoes—in force.[20] They continued the siege until the garrison was reduced to the verge of starvation; a quarter of a pound of sour flour and an equal weight of spoiled meat constituting a daily ration. The assailants, however, were finally compelled to return home, as their supplies had also become exhausted.

---

[17] Capt. John Killbuck to Gibson, 30 Jan., 1779, original letter. Heckewelder to same, 8 Feb., 1779, original letter. McIntosh to Lochry, 29 Jan., 1779, in Penn. Arch., First Series, VII, 173.

[18] "I am now happily relieved by the arrival of Maj. Taylor here, who returned with one hundred men and two hundred kegs of flour. He was six days going up the Muskingum river about twenty miles, the waters were so high and stream so rapid; and as he had about one hundred and thirty miles more to go, he judged it impossible to relieve Col. Gibson in time, and therefore returned, having lost two of his men sent to flank him upon the shore, who were killed and scalped by some warriors coming down the Muskingum river:" McIntosh to Washington, from Fort Pitt, 12 March, 1779, MS.

[19] McIntosh to Washington, 12 March, 1779, MS., just cited. Brodhead to same, 21 March, 1779, MS.

[20] "The attacking party consisted of one hundred and eighty:" Hildreth's Pion. Hist., p. 138. "Near three hundred:" Heckewelder to McIntosh, 12 March, 1779, MS. Hildreth is the better authority in this matter. He cites Geo. Morgan, who got his information from the Delaware chiefs. The cunning foe, it seems, by stratagem, made their number so appear, that eight hundred and forty-seven were counted from one of the bastions of the fort.

Before the enemy left, a soldier managed to steal through their lines, reaching McIntosh on the third of March, with a message from Colonel Gibson informing him of his critical situation.[21] The Fort Pitt commander immediately made exertions to set on foot an expedition for his relief. In the event of not meeting the foe upon the Tuscarawas, McIntosh planned, in his own mind, to march before his return, against Sandusky and destroy the Wyandot towns; "and if we could not get any supplies there," are his words, "proceed farther."[22] On the nineteenth of March, with about two hundred militia quickly raised from the counties west of the mountains, and over three hundred continental troops from Fort McIntosh and Fort Pitt, he left the former post upon his second march to the Tuscarawas;[23] arriving there in four days,[24] to find the siege of Fort Laurens abandoned and the savages gone. A salute, fired by the garrison upon the arrival of the relief in sight of the post, frightened the packhorses, causing them to break loose, scattering the supplies in the woods and resulting in the loss of a number of the horses and some of the provisions.

The men in the fort were found in a most deplorable condition. For nearly a week, they had subsisted on raw hides and such roots as they could find in the vicinity after the Indians had gone. McIntosh called a council of war and laid before the officers assembled his plan for marching against the Wyandots and striking a blow at their towns on the Sandusky. But the project was unanimously opposed, as the ground so early in the season was very wet and there was a scanty supply of forage for their horses, and less than two weeks' provisions for the whole army. So the matter was dropped.[25] Leaving one hundred and six men, rank and file, of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, under command of Major Frederick Vernon, to garrison the post, and a supply of food for less than two months, he returned with the residue of his force to Fort McIntosh, reaching there after a march of six days.

---

[21] "A messenger came to me the third of March, instant, who slipped out of Fort Laurens on the night of Sunday, the twenty-eighth of February, by whom Col. Gibson would not venture to write:" McIntosh to Washington, 12 Mar., 1779, previously cited.

[22] McIntosh to Washington, 3 Apr., 1779, MS.

[23] McIntosh to Washington, 19 March, 1779, MS. Orderly book of McIntosh, 1779, MS. Col. Brodhead was left in command of Fort McIntosh.

[24] McIntosh to Washington, 3 Apr., 1779, MS., previously cited. McIntosh's orderly book, MS.

The erection of Forts McIntosh and Laurens as a precautionary measure was approved by [Washington] the commander-in-chief. "The establishing of posts of communication," he wrote, "which McIntosh has done for the security of his convoys and the army, is a proceeding grounded on military practice and experience."

The condition of Fort Laurens early engaged the attention of [Col. Daniel] Brodhead [who, in March, 1779, was appointed McIntosh's successor in command of the Western Department.] Major Vernon, at that post, experienced, from the commencement of his charge, many hardships. Scarcely had the command been turned over to him when small parties of savages began to make their appearance in the vicinity. He soon had two men killed out of a party of forty who were outside the fort gathering fire-wood.[26] The throwing of supplies into the post was attended with much difficulty and expense, and its evacuation seemed desirable. But "it is to be preserved," wrote Washington, "if, under a full consideration of circumstances, it is judged a post of importance, and can be maintained without running too great a risk." The commander-in-chief was apprehensive its abandonment would give great encouragement to the savages about Detroit,—which was his reason for holding it; not on account of any opinion of its usefulness as a protection to the border. Brodhead found "that the state of provisions there," was by no means what he had supposed it to be.[27] The language of Vernon, in a letter from the fort, dated the twenty-ninth of April, was expressive and startling: "Should you not send us provisions in a very short time, necessity will oblige us to begin on some cow-hides the Indians left."

---

[25] McIntosh to Washington, 3 Apr., (just cited) and 3 May, 1779, MS. letters.

[26] Vernon to McIntosh from Fort Laurens, 28 March, 1779, MS. Same to Brodhead, same date, MS. The attack was made on the day on which these letters were written. Ensign John Clark was one of the killed.

[27] Brodhead to Lochry, 23 Apr., 1779, MS.

"I am just now fitting out one hundred and fifty men," wrote Brodhead, on the fourth of May, "to escort a small quantity of supplies to Fort Laurens." "Indeed," was his earnest declaration, in addition, "I cannot send a larger party, as the Indians are at present very troublesome on the northern frontiers of Westmoreland and a large party would consume all the salt provisions on the march; as for fresh ones, I have none."[28] But the greatest part of the garrison, by the middle of the month, had to be sent in, or they would have perished by starvation, as no relief had arrived. Major Vernon held the post ten days longer with only twenty-five men, living on herbs, salt and cow-hides, when supplies from Fort Pitt, escorted by a party of regulars, who marched by a new route,[29] reached the fort.

At this time, the garrison was so much reduced for want of provisions that they were scarcely able to stand on their feet. "I dare say," are the words of Brodhead to the Fort Laurens commander, on the thirtieth, "you took good care not to suffer your starved men to eat much at a time, after the supplies arrived, and that the whisky added to their relief." Past the middle of June, the post was relieved by seventy-five men, well supplied with

---

[28] Brodhead to Washington, MS. letter.

[29] The relief was commanded by Capt. Robert Beall* of the 13th [9th] Va. Reg't. They dropped down the Ohio to an old, deserted Mingo town, at the mouth of Cross creek, just below the present Steubenville, Ohio; marching thence to Fort Laurens.—Brodhead to Beall: MS. Instructions. Same to Major Vernon, at Fort Laurens 14 May, 1779, MS. Same to Lieut. John Hardin, of the 8th Pa. Reg't., same date, MS. The detachment was detained for some time at Fort McIntosh, "while the garrison at Fort Laurens were starving:" Brodhead to Capt. John Clark, June 6th, 1779, MS. The new route to Fort Laurens was not again used,—"the old Tuscarawas path" being takan in subsequent marches to and from that post.

---

*In making up the Index to the *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, this officer is confounded wiih Capt. Robert Beall of the Westmoreland County Militia, mentioned on pp. 124, 328, 379.—Washington-Irvine Letters. They were not one and the same person. —C. W. B.

provisions, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.[30] Vernon returned to Fort Pitt, but his detachment was left at Fort McIntosh.[31] After being once more seriosuly threatened by the Indians in force, Fort Laurens, early in August was evacuated; orders to that effect having been previously sent by Col. Brodhead,[32] that the garrison stationed there might be added to troops already collected at Pittsburg for a contemplated expedition against the northern Indians. Before the soldiers left, two of their number were killed by lurking savages within sight of the post. As the fort might again be occupied, Colonel Campbell was enjoined not to destroy it. It was never after garrisoned. It remained intact during the war, but was subsequently demolished.

THE MASSACRE OF THE MORAVIAN INDIANS.

There is much evidence to show that it was the belief of Williamson and his men from Western Pennsylvania, that some at least of the Christian Indians were in the expedition that resulted in the killing of Mrs. Wallace and her child. Many articles of clothing recognized as having been worn by persons murdered by Indians, were found in possession of the Moravians. Butterfield quotes (History of the Girtys) H. H. Brackenbridge, a man of prominence, a noted lawyer and writer, as saying on the 3d of August of the year of the massacre: "I am disposed to believe that the greater part of the men put to death at Gnadenhutten were warriors; this appears to be the testimony of one against another, from the confession of many, from their singing the war song when ordered out to be tomahawked, from the cut and painting of their hair, and from other circumstances." Butterfield prints much other evidence of like strength of character to show that the good Indians were not always so very good. That the people of Western Pennsylvania approved of Col. Williamson's work is shown in the fact that he was afterwards repeatedly elected sheriff of his county.

---

[30] Brodhead to Campbell, MS. Instructions, 14 June, 1779. Same to Vernon, same date, MS. Instructions. Same to Campbell, 16 June, 1779, MS. letter.

[31] Brodhead's orderly book, 1779, MS. Zeisberger to Campbell at Fort Laurens (no date) MS.

[32] The first order to leave was issued by Brodhead on the 16th of July: Brodhead to Campbell, MS. Instructions. This informed the commander that the post was to be evacuated as soon as horses could be sent to bring in the stores; subsequent orders were more pressing and imperative.

The story of the escape of "Sweet Corn" given on page 144, came to the compiler from a most reliable source, the relator claiming to be a descendant, but as only two boys escaped, having eluded the soldiers, the Story of Sweet Corn is likely fiction, although it is possible that at the time Sweet Corn may have been mistaken for a boy.

Butterfield, in whose statements all must place the fullest confidence, insists (History of the Girtys) that the Gnadenhutten massacre was not planned by the British at Detroit, although to the compiler it requires very little, even circumstantial, evidence to convict the British of the crime, and certainly circumstantial evidence is strong in this case.

ANDREW AND ADAM POE AND THE BIG FOOT INDIAN.

The story of the Poes and their fight with the "Big Foot" Indian is so closely associated with the history of this region, that it seems like sacrilege to take from this story the embellishments that have made it so deeply interesting to those who enjoy narrative of border warfare, but in his account Butterfield (History of the Girtys) reduces the story to the plain statement of fact: "While the savages were on their way back to Sandusky [from the Moravian missions] seven of the Wyandots, of whom three were sons of the Half King, left the main party and again marched for the border, raiding into a small settlement on Harmon's creek, in Washington county, taking one prisoner — a man about seventy years of age. The savages immediately started on their return, but were soon pursued by a number of settlers, to the Ohio river, where they were overtaken and all killed except one; and he, their leader, Scotosh by name, one of the three brothers before alluded to, escaped wounded. The white prisoner was released. Andrew Poe, one of the pursuers, his gun missing fire, boldly sprang upon and grappled two of the Indians — sons of the Half King. During a most violent struggle, which was continued, first on the shore and then in the river, Andrew killed one of the Indians, but was himself badly wounded. Adam Poe, a brother, coming to his relief, shot the other savage. Meanwhile, Andrew Poe, then in the water, by mistake, received a second wound from one of his own men. The settlers lost one of their number. Neither of the Indians killed by the Poes was named Big Foot, nor was either of them of unusual size, as has been so long and persistently claimed by Western writers." In a foot note Butterfield adds: The story of the Poe fight was first written for, and printed in, a magazine, with a number of fanciful embellishments, about "Big Foot," etc. The whole article was copied by Doddridge as veritable history in his notes.

THE PURITANS DESTROY A PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The reference to the destruction by the Puritan Fathers of the first Presbyterian church in Massachusetts on page 97 seems such an unusual performance that it is deemed prudent to give fuller authority for the statement. In the "History of Worcester" by William Lincoln, published in Worcester, Mass., in 1837, page 47, is found an account of the first Scotch-Irish immigrants to arrive in New England, the date being 1718. They settled at Worcester * * * "and here suffered illiberal opposition, and even active hostility. Having formed a religious society, they commenced the erection of a meeting house on the west side of the Boston road. The timbers had been raised and the building was in the progress of construction, when the inhabitants gathered tumultuously by night, and demolished the structure. Persons of consideration and respectability aided in the riotous work of violence, and the defenceless foreigners were compelled to submit to the wrong. Many, unable to endure the insults and bitter prejudices they encountered, joined their brethren of the same (Presbyterian) denomination, who, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Abercrumbie, commenced the settlement of the town of Pelham, in the county of Hampshire."

Judge Temple (Puritan, Cavalier and Covenanter) quotes Bryant as recording that this Scotch settlement at Worcester held the first public meeting (in 1773) in the Colonies, which set forth the precise essential principles of the Declaration of Independence. From this settlement came Matthew Thornton and Asa Gray.

RELIGIOUS STATUS OF THE PATHFINDERS OF THE WESTERN RESERVE.

The statement as to the religious status of the pathfinders of the Northern portion of the original Jefferson county having been previously made by the compiler and questioned, on the ground that the settlers of the Western Reserve were from New England and therefore Puritans, it is proper that full authority be given for the declaration that these people were lacking in the spirituality characteristic of the portions of the county settled by Pennsylvanians and Virginians.

The belief has long obtained that the influence of the pathfinders of the Reserve was along religious more than material lines, but this is not true. In the element of character on which the descendants base the greatness of the fathers, the fathers were very deficient. They were ungodly to an alarming degree.

As to the truth of the statement we have the testimony of Rev. Thomas Robbins, an early missionary, and of Rev. Joseph Badger, who labored also in the Reserve vineyard when the sturdy pathfinder was felling the forest and cutting the way for the advance of civilization. These ministers recorded the events of their journeying to and fro and their journals tell the story to which only reference has been made in the foregoing pages.

In 1804 Mr. Robbins visited Cleveland and spoke of the people as "loose in principles and conduct; few had heard a sermon or a hymn for eighteen months."

In Mesopotamia, Trumbull county, Rev. Robbins found the people "much inclined to infidelity." In Mentor, Lake county, they were not only inclined to "infidelity, but immorality." In Willoughby, Lake county, they were irritated at the presence of missionaries. In Newburg "profaning the Sabbath" was a favorite pastime. At Warren the citizens were openly hostile to the cause of religion. At Canfield, Mahoning county, they were "much inclined to infidelity." At Burton, Geauga county, there were two or three Christians, but at Middlefield, in the same county, there was scarcely anyone with serious thoughts upon religious subjects. "The greater part of the New England people in the country are pretty loose characters," said Rev. Mr. Robbins in summing up his opinion of the pioneers in a sentence.

Rev. Mr. Badger, another minister, in telling of a visit he paid Painesville, says that "not one seemed to have the least regard for the Sabbath." He attended a Fourth of July celebration at Hudson — at that time the religious center of the Reserve. Hon. Benjamin Tappan made the oration of the day, which, Mr. Badger says, was "interlarded with grossly illiberal remarks against Christians and Christianity."

Whites settled Cleveland in 1796, but it was not until 1816 that a church organization was effected, and it was not until 1829, thirty-three years after Moses Cleveland landed, that the first meeting house was erected. Newburg was as large as Cleveland in that early day, but the first church building was not erected there until as late as 1841.

"On one occasion," says a historical writer in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, "it is a fact so well attested as to be beyond question, that citizens of Cleveland formed a procession and marched in mockery through the streets bearing an effigy which they called Jesus."

JAMES AND NOT SIMON GIRTY AT SIEGE OF FORT HENRY.

In accounts of the siege of Fort Henry in 1777, Butterfield (History of the Girtys) presents a large amount of evidence to show that neither Simon, George, Thomas nor James Girty assisted in the investment, for at that time none of the Girtys had deserted the Americans. They were then all in the employ of the United States as interpreters, but after all but Thomas deserted, or rather renounced allegiance to America and took the oath in the British service. James, and not Simon, Girty was with the besiegers of Fort Henry in 1782. Says Butterfield (History of the Girtys, p. 289): "In going with the enemy to assail Fort Henry at Wheeling, in September, 1782, James Girty, for the last time, so far as it is known, marched to attack his own countrymen." In a note on page 132, Butterfield says that neither James nor Simon Girty were of the plotters of the scheme which resulted in breaking up the missionary establishments upon the Tuscarawas [Moravian], neither having anything to do with it directly or indirectly.

In this connection it is proper to note that the last census shows that there were 121,324 natives of Pennsylvania, 60,429 natives of the two Virginias, and only 25,093 natives of all the New England states in Ohio at the time the census was taken.

The name of the "witch" mentioned on page 288 should be McCauley and not Dougherty.

According to a history of the M. E. Church in Ohio, printed in the Columbus Press-Post, the first Methodist preaching in the territory northwest of the Ohio, was by Rev. Geo. Callahan, a rider of the circuit lying in Virginia between Wheeling and Pittsburg. This was at Carpenter's fort, at the mouth of Short creek, in September, 1787. [See Gen. Butler's journal note in chapter on churches.] His congregation was guarded by a score of hardy backwoodsmen armed with rifles, who stood at the edge of the assembly.

A daughter of Obediah Jennings, the second receiver of the Steubenville Land office, and a noted Presbyterian minister afterwards, became the wife of Gov. Wise of Virginia and the mother of Obediah Jennings Wise, the Confederate general who was killed during the war between the States.

According to an account published by Rev. R. M. Coulter, in the Cadiz Republican, Oct. 31, 1895, Jesse Delong was born on Short Creek in 1776, and died at the age of 106 years. He was possibly a son of Solomon Delong mentioned on p. 137.

Wm. Howells, father of Wm. Dean Howells, in "Life in Ohio: 1813-1840," mentions the fact that his father settled on Wills creek, five miles above Steubenville in 1819. The chimney place of the old log house is yet in evidence, together with the spring, apple trees and the thyme of which he speaks. The ruins of the old mill dam are still to be seen as evidence of the enterprise of the Pathfinders.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

OHIO STATE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR

FEBRUARY 17, 1807 TO FEBRUARY 1, 1898.

GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF, President.
E. O. RANDALL, Secretary.

COLUMBUS, O., JANUARY, 1898.

To His Excellency, Asa S. Bushnell, Governor of Ohio:

SIR:—I have the honor to submit herewith the thirteenth annual report of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, covering the year from February 17, 1897, to February 1, 1898.

This report, while complete as to the more important proceedings of the society, is made as concise as possible, and for the greater convenience of the reader, the chief items of interest are arranged topically.

With very great respect, I remain,

Yours truly,
E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary.*

OFFICERS

FROM FEBRUARY 17, 1897, TO FEBRUARY 1, 1898.

GEN. ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF	*President*
REV. WM. E. MOORE, D. D., LL. D.	*Vice-President*
HON. S. S. RICKLY	*Treasurer*
EDWIN F. WOOD	*Assistant Treasurer*
E. O. RANDALL, PH. B., LL. M.	*Secretary*
*PROF. WARREN K. MOOREHEAD	*Curator*
CLARENCE LOVEBERRY, D. V. M.	*Assistant Curator*

TRUSTEES.

ELECTED BY THE SOCIETY.

TERM EXPIRES IN 1898.

GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF	MANSFIELD
HON. M. D. FOLLETT	MARIETTA
HON. D. J. RYAN	COLUMBUS
REV. H. A. THOMPSON	DAYTON
MR. R. E. HILLS	DELAWARE

TERM EXPIRES IN 1899.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN	MANSFIELD
PROF. G. F. WRIGHT	OBERLIN
REV. WM. E. MOORE	COLUMBUS
HON. JOHN B. PEASLEE	CINCINNATI
MR. A. H. SMYTHE	COLUMBUS

TERM EXPIRES IN 1900.

HON. ELROY M. AVERY	CLEVELAND
BISHOP B. W. ARNETT	WILBERFORCE
HON. S. S. RICKLY	COLUMBUS
HON. A. R. McINTIRE	MT. VERNON
MR. G. F. BAREIS	CANAL WINCHESTER

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

GEN. GEO. B. WRIGHT, Columbus, 1898; HON. ISRAEL WILLIAMS, Hamilton, 1898; HON. ALEXANDER BOXWELL, Red Lion, 1899; HON. E. O. RANDALL, Columbus, 1899; HON. CHARLES P. GRIFFIN, Toledo, 1900; HON. A. ROBESON, Greenville, 1900.

---

* Prof. Moorehead resigned the office of Curator August 27, 1897.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

Columbus, Ohio, February 17, 1897.

The twelfth annual meeting of the society was held in the Library room of the Capitol Building, Columbus, Ohio, at 2 p. m., standard time, February 17, 1897. The meeting was called to order by the President, General R. Brinkerhoff. The following members of the society were present:

Gen. R. Brinkerhoff	Mansfield,	Ohio
George F. Bareis	Canal Winchester,	Ohio
A. R. McIntire	Mt. Vernon,	Ohio
Rev. William E. Moore	Columbus,	Ohio
Dr. D. H. Gard	"	"
Judge J. H. Anderson	"	"
J. J. Janney	"	"
A. H. Smythe	"	"
W. K. Moorehead	"	"
S. S. Rickly	"	"
E. F. Wood	"	"
R. P. Hayes	"	"
R. S. Neil	"	"
E. O. Randall	"	"
F. H. Howe	"	"
Col. Charles Parrott	"	"
Mrs. J. P. Merrill	"	"

Letters expressing regret and inability to attend the meeting were read by the Secretary from Bishop B. W. Arnett, Xenia; Israel Williams, Hamilton, Ohio; R. E. Hills, Delaware, Ohio; Alexander Boxwell, Red Lion, Ohio; A. J. Warner, Marietta, Ohio, and A. W. Whelpley, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. E. O. Randall, the Secretary, read the minutes of the previous (eleventh) annual meeting (February 27, 1896). There being no objections or corrections, by motion the minutes were approved.

General Brinkerhoff, the President, gave a brief impromptu address, in which he stated that this annual meeting would be one simply of a business nature. There would be no banquet in the evening, as had heretofore been the custom. The Legislature is not in session, and the financial depression of the times makes a good excuse for omitting that feature of the annual meeting. The past year, however, in the history of the society, has been a most successful one, and the society has made progress along the lines of its work, as it has not done before. Still there is great work to do. During the past year, the President said, he had traveled over many of the States, and in several, had found that they were doing even more for their respective States in history and archæology, than Ohio is doing. Particularly was this true of Wisconsin and Minnesota, but we must not despair. Our great need was quarters, and they were forthcoming, as soon as the new addition to the State House would be completed. The one sad event of the past year, was the death of our Trustee and life member, Judge W. J. Gilmore, who had ever been a most earnest and loyal counselor, and whose wise views and genial presence were greatly missed in the meetings of our Executive Committee. Judge Gilmore died at his residence, Columbus, Ohio, August 9, 1896.

The Secretary here read his report to the society. He stated that he had not prepared a special report for the society, but would submit as such report, the report which he had made to Governor Bushnell in behalf of the Executive Committee. This report, embodying some forty pages, had been printed and sent to the members of the society, members of the Legislature and State officials. Copies were here at this meeting and distributed to those present. (This report is found in full in Volume V, Ohio Archæological and Historical Society Publications, pages 291-325.)

The Secretary said that he would emphasize two features of the year's work, viz.: The purchase of the 107 acres of the Couden Tract of Fort Ancient, thereby procuring possession for the society of all the fort except the Ridge Tract, consisting of some twelve acres. Secondly, the issuing of a volume (V), which was in press, and which would give a complete history of the land title of Ohio, from the land grants of the English kings down to the disputes as to the boundary lines of the State. This book would include all the official documents in full, both in England and in this country.*

Upon the call for the report of special Committees, the Secretary reported that the Trustees had received requests from parties in several different towns, for the privilege of establishing branches or chapters of the society. The Executive Committee had spent much time in considering this subject, and had finally appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. Bareis, Wood and Randall, said committee to formulate a report and present it at the annual meeting of the society. Mr. Bareis was now called upon for that report, which was as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON "LOCAL SECTIONS."

We, your Committee, recommend the following:

Item (a) Whenever a local membership of ten or more life or Active members of the Society in regular standing, residing at or near any point in the State of Ohio, shall make application to the Society, it may grant to said members permission to organize a "Section" to further the objects of the Society, said Section shall be authorized to hold meetings, elect its officers, recommend persons for membership, in the Society, maintain a Library and Museum, and to recommend such measures as shall be deemed proper. The meeting of the Section shall occur on some other day than the meetings of the Society.

Item (b) Fifty per cent. of all Annual fees or dues of Active members affiliating with any Section and twenty-five per cent. of the membership fees of those recommended by the Section shall be reserved by it. The money thus accruing to be expended in such manner, consistent with the object of the organization, as it may direct.

Item (c) All life members and all Active members paying annual dues affiliating with any Section, shall be entitled to the publications of the Society.

Item (d) Each Section shall choose its own officers of such number as it may determine, including a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall communicate to the Secretary of the Society on or before January 1, of each year a report of the condition of the Section for that year, the form and extent of such reports to be under the direction of the Secretary of the Society.

Item (e) In case any Section becomes disorganized or its membership decreased to less than the required number, its Library and Museum, records, and other property acquired, shall become part of the Library and Museum of the Society. Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE F. BAREIS, *Chairman.*

---

* This volume was issued in August, 1897.

Without discussion and by motion this report was adopted without any opposition

Later in the meeting, however, this report was again considered. Mr. Howe, just before proposed adjournment, asked if it was too late to reconsider the action of the society in adopting the report of Mr. Bareis, on the establishment of sections of the society. The chair said that it was not, and a motion to reconsider was made, and resulted in considerable discussion, in which Messrs. Howe, Wood, Hayes and Moorehead took part. (Mr. Bareis had previous to this excused himself on account of another engagement, and had retired from the meeting). Mr. Howe was decidedly opposed to the plan, and did not think the society fully understood the purport of that report. The Secretary was called upon to re-read it, which he did, and which he then further explained to the meeting; that in substance it was that members of the society could associate themselves together in any part of the State to the number of ten, as a minimum and organize and collect books and relics of which they would have possession so long as their organization continued, but of which the title was in the State society, and when these societies disbanded the State society would take possession of, and retain said property. Mr. Howe expressed the opinion that this would deprive the State society of its unity and identity, that it would have difficulty in getting property desired, that it would scatter the State society's property over the State, where it could not look after it, and that there would be constant conflicts between the State society with headquarters at Columbus, and the local societies scattered over the State. After considerable discussion the motion to reconsider was carried. Whereupon Mr. Neil moved that the report of Mr. Bareis be referred back to the committee and that they give it due consideration, and report upon it at the next annual meeting of the society. This was carried without a dissenting voice.

The Secretary reported that the five Trustees of the society whose terms of office expired at this time were:

Hon. Calvin S. Brice.....................................Lima
Hon. Elroy M. Avery.....................................Cleveland
Bishop B. W. Arnett.....................................Wilberforce
Hon. S. S. Rickly.....................................Columbus
Mr. G. F. Bareis.....................................Canal Winchester

Upon motion and vote the chair was requested to appoint a committee of three who should nominate five Trustees to succeed those retiring. The chair appointed as such committee, Messrs. Moore, Gard and Wood. Said committee retired and in a short time returned and reported as nominees for trusteeship for the ensuing three years:

Hon. Elroy M. Avery.....................................Cleveland
Bishop B. W. Arnett.....................................Wilberforce
Hon. S. S. Rickly.....................................Columbus
Mr. G. F. Bareis.....................................Canal Winchester
Mr. A. R. McIntire.....................................Mt. Vernon

The report of the committee was accepted, and by unanimous vote the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the society for said nominees. The Secretary did this, and the above were declared duly elected Trustees, to serve from February 17, 1897, to February 17, 1900.

Upon motion a committee of five, to be named by the chair, was appointed to call upon the Governor, extend him the greetings and compliments of the society. The chair appointed as such committee, Messrs. McIntire, Anderson, Neil, Smythe and Janney. Said committee later in the meeting called upon the Governor, and upon their return reported a most pleasant visit, and that the Governor had expressed himself well pleased with the objects and work of the society, declared a desire to visit Fort Ancient, and stated that early in the spring, he would name a date on which he would accompany the society upon a visit to the fort.

Mr. R. P. Hayes, President of the State Library Commission, and a member of the society, was called upon for a speech, to which he responded, expressing his gratification that the society's library had been transferred to the quarters of the State Library, and that he would do all in his power to provide ample facilities for the accommodation of the society. We all know that the libraries should be co-operative and that the State Library was the proper place for the books of the society. He then explained at some length the new features of the State Library, such as the new cataloguing and the circulating of Village Libraries. The State Library is now accessible to the entire public, and books are sent to various towns and allowed to remain for weeks at a time, thus affording reading facilities never before accorded and which could not otherwise be obtained. This plan, Mr. Hayes stated, was working admirably.

Prof. Warren K. Moorehead here made a full statement of the work which had been done by the society the past year under his direction in the department of Archæology. He related his experiences in his exploring expeditions. He dwelt upon the value and extent of the work and thought the society was to be congratulated upon its efforts in that direction. He doubted if any State society was doing as much. He thought we should be more active and enterprising the coming year, as the Smithsonian Institute and other State societies were looking with jealous eyes upon the Ohio field and were liable to come in and forestall our work in this department. He exhibited to the meeting the Archæological Map of Ohio, which under his direction is being prepared for the society. Upon this map are already indicated some three thousand localities in which are mounds, village sites or indications of archæological interest of some kind. He expected to have the number of places indicated more than double those obtained, before the map is completed. He is in correspondence with parties in every county who are assisting him in this work. The map when done will be an exceedingly valuable property. Rand & McNally, of Chicago, have already written him with a view to publishing this map. The society will probably find it advantageous to have this map published.

Mr. Moorehead's report of the year's work will be found in full in Volume V, pages 164-274, with numerous illustrations.

Secretary reported the following names submitted for election as members of the society: Dr. Edwin F. Wilson, Columbus, Ohio; Hon. James Pillars, Lima, Ohio; Robert J. Cox, F. M. Starr, R. I. Brandebury, J. L. Smith, H. J. McCullough and Prof. G. A. Chambers, all of Delaware, Ohio. They were duly elected.

General Brinkerhoff at this point opened a discussion upon the importance of the society in making an effort to procure and preserve family histories and genealogies. In New England great care was taken in this matter, but the Western people are too busy and too indifferent to their ancestry. He regarded this as the most important work of the society. He thought that we should send out circulars far and near requesting manuscripts, letters, pamphlets and documents of any kind from anybody touching the lives and early histories of families. He related at some length his own experiences in trying to obtain information concerning his family in its early generations in this country. Especially did he think this was the work for the Ohio Society, as Ohio was the landing place for great numbers of the best and most influential New England families. Here they located, at least for a time, subsequent generations passing on farther West, and unless this material was gathered up in this State, it would never be obtained, because as the years roll by, and the families become more scattered and go farther West, less and less attention is given to the early days and the early history. Dr. Moore confirmed the views of General Brinkerhoff, and made some very pertinent remarks on the value of preserving family histories, speaking particularly of the value of family papers and letters. J. J. Janney continued the discussion, relating his own experience and giving a striking illustration in the case of a family in which a diary had been kept for some fifty years, which the children were about to destroy as worthless, and which contained a great amount of exceedingly interesting history touching upon the locality and the county in which the owner had resided.

Upon the Secretary announcing that there was no further regular business before the meeting, the President announced that immediately after adjournment, the annual meeting of the Trustees would be held. Meeting of the society adjourned at 3:35 p. m.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

The annual meeting of the Trustees was held in the Library room of the Capitol Building at 3:45 p. m., immediately following the meeting of the society. There were present the following Trustees:

Messrs, Brinkerhoff, Moore, McIntire, Randall, Rickly, Smythe.

Dr. Moore was made temporary Chairman and Mr. Randall temporary Secretary.

General Brinkerhoff was nominated and elected President of the Board of Trustees for the ensuing year. General Brinkerhoff stated that he did not seek the office again, that he was shedding presidencies this year as much as possible, and he thought that the office ought to be passed around. The answer to this was, by the other members, that it was better for the society to be as permanent as possible in its officers, and that it gave stability to the work of the society to continue the officers.

Rev. William E. Moore was elected Vice President; Mr. S. S. Rickly was elected Treasurer; Mr. E. F. Wood, Assistant Treasurer; Mr. E. O. Randall was re-elected Secretary. In addition to these officers of the society, who are ex-officio members, the following Executive Committee was selected: Messrs Bareis, Hills, McIntire, Ryan and Wright. The matter of compensation to the active officers and other agents found necessary to be employed, was upon due consideration disposed of.

The Secretary made a full statement of the condition of the affairs of the society. The policy and line of work of the society for the coming year was discussed.

Upon motion it was decided to hold the monthly meetings of the Executive Committee on the first Wednesday of each month at 2:30 p. m., standard time, in the Public Library rooms, Columbus.

WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee has been most faithful, efficient and indefatigable in its supervision of the affairs of the society, in its efforts to protect its interests, promote the objects of the society and economically expend the funds placed at the disposal of the society by the appropriation of the Legislature. The committee as a whole has held fifteen regular or formal special meetings on the following dates: February 17, March 3, April 7, May, 5, May 28, June 7, June 30, August 17, September 8, October 7, November 3, December 8, December 30, January 14, February 9, (1898). Special meetings of the Fnance Committee, Committee on Fort Ancient and Committee on Library and Museum were held at various times, and never before in the history of the society have its officers and trustees shown so much interest in, or devoted so much time to, the affairs of the society. Every detail of the work of the society has been directed by the Executive Committee, or at least been carefully scrutinized by it.

The Committee on Museum and Library makes the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, December 28, 1897.

MR. E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary*:

My dear Sir — Perhaps never before in the history of the Society, has there been more activity and work in the Museum, than in the past year, — more visitors, more inquiries, more interest, — this is no doubt due, in a large measure, to the extensive and persistent manner in which Prof. W. K. Moorehead, late Curator, has kept the Society before the public.

Persons owning collections and relics, are beginning to realize that the Museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society is a permanent and fixed Institution of the State.

It is gratifying that special and professional students in Archæology are beginning to make Orton Hall a stopping place in passing through Columbus. Several such visits were paid the Museum during the year.

In the process of cataloguing, the specimens have been separated, — those from each county now occupy a separate case. This seemed the best plan under the circumstances. Had we the floor space necessary to place these cases in their proper geographical order, this method would be still more practical and satisfactory.

The work of cataloguing, under the supervision of Dr. Clarence Loveberry, present Curator, and Miss Allen, has been completed. Not counting fragments, as is usually done, there are 19,110 specimens, adding the 25,000 specimens belonging to the O. S. U. we have a collection of which the citizens of the State may take a just pride. As one passes through the Museum noting the many splendid and rare relics of these "Nameless People" he sees the evidence, that to a certain extent the State is making reparation for its past neglect of the field of Archæology.

The past year the Society has received several collections, by donation and by loan. Among those who have given specimens are the following, viz.: Mr. Samuel Porter, Green Camp, O.; Mr. W. Rhoads, Chalfants, O.; J. R. Roof, Ashville, O.; W. P. Gates, Chicago, Ill., and parties at

Waverly and Beavertown, O., whose names were not ascertained. Those who have loaned collections, are Prof. J. P. Sharkley, Eaton, O., and Mr. W. C. Mills, Mt. Vernon, O., the latter collection consists of some 200 Historical Weapons, etc.

The work on the Archæological Map of Ohio has progressed, but the undertaking is now in that stage, when a special fund should be appropriated, and competent persons sent over the State to locate Earth-Works, Village-Sites, etc. By the way, this map received special complimentary notice at the Detroit meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Perhaps there is no special work being done by the Society that will be so valuable and timely a "Contribution to Knowledge" as the completion of this map.

The Books and Pamphlets of the Society, through the kindness of Librarian Galbreath, occupy an alcove in the Ohio State Library rooms.

Many of the Charts and Drawings of Earth-Works, Historical Paintings and pictures have been brought from the basement of Orton Hall and placed on the walls of the Museum.

The Field-Work Department of the Society has as usual placed many rare and unique specimens in our collection. The five nuggets of free or native silver ore (the largest weighing three-fourths of an ounce), found in a case of musselshell-shaped iron concretion, attracted the attention of the Archæological world; another very singular specimen, is the copper band or ring, so tightly fitted around the phalanges of the front finger, that the copper and the bone have become knitted together. Space forbids the mention of many others almost equally rare.

Many specimens are sent to the Museum for identification and expert opinion. Among these are a number of the "terra-cotta casts" that have puzzled other museums; they represent an unknown bivalve shell, are colored with pink ochre, such as is found in Mounds, and as yet their origin is a mystery.

We especially recommend that a date be mutually arranged, when the Society may invite its warm friend and supporter, Governor Bushnell, and the members of the Legislature, to spend an hour or two at the Museum.

Very respectfully submitted,

GEO. F. BAREIS, *Chairman.*

CARE OF FORT ANCIENT.

The committee, with Rev. William E. Moore as Chairman and Superintendent, having the custody and care of Fort Ancient in charge, has diligently and faithfully performed its work. The funds appropriated by the State for this special purpose have been profitably expended. Several visits during the year have been made to the fort by the Chairman and other members of the Executive Committee, and personal supervision has been given to the repair and preservation of this famous prehistoric spot. Mr. Cowen, with whom the society has a contract for the care and supervision of the fort, has proved, through three years' experience, to be a most reliable and competent man for this work, as is shown by the report of Dr. Moore, Chairman of the Committee on Fort Ancient, which report is herewith submitted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FORT ANCIENT.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, December 20, 1897.

MR. E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary:*

The Committe on the care of Ft. Ancient respectfully report, that they have continued during the year the policy of preserving the walls from dilapidation from any cause; and of clearing off the undergrowth, and draining the places where water was accumulating.

A good deal of this work was done as the committee know — last year and the year before. Recent inspection by the committee shows that the work done heretofore for stopping the washing of the walls has been effectual, and only needs constant attention and care to preserve the walls. But little or none of this important work has been done on that part of the works recently purchased from Mr. Couden. Our experience shows us that this section of the walls can be also made secure from further washing in the same way, i. e. by dams of flat stones, stopping the flow of the water, from rains or melting snow. It ought to be done the ensuing year. The materials for this work are at hand — with the cost only of labor. A large part of the original purchase has been cleared of undergrowth and dead timber during the last two years. But a good deal needs yet to be done in the way of further clearing, and some underdraining to dry the swampy soil and make the grounds what the Society wish to have them — a resort for pleasure and for profitable study.

Little — nothing indeed effectual — has been done as yet to clear up the last purchase. The walls — among the most striking of all — are largely covered with briar-bushes and other undergrowth, obscuring the works themselves, and the magnificent views from them. Your committee proposes to continue the work as it has begun it — if the needed aid is granted by the Legislature — until in a few years, at a very moderate expense, every acre of the State's property there shall be a grass-covered lawn, dotted with the majestic trees of our own Miami Valley. When this work is thoroughly done, we believe that the labor of caring for the Fort will be self-sustaining, so far as the necessary repairs and preservative work is concerned.

It is a gratifying fact that the citizens of the vicinity of Fort Ancient report that many more persons visited Fort Ancient last year, than for many years past. With the new purchase thrown open to the public, the attractions will be greatly increased.

Your committee would suggest to the executive committee the desirableness, and at the same time the feasibility, of such additions to the house occupied by the Superintendent as will furnish a much needed place for special meetings of the Society or its officers, and at the same time, enable the superintendent and his family to furnish meals for such as may need such accomodations. The expense of such addition — or additions need not be large. But their value would be great.

It seems to your committee that a renewal of the visitation of last year, by the governor and legislature, and friends of education, would greatly further the object which the State had in view in its purchase, and which the Society have in view in their efforts to make it educational — as well as interesting.

Respectfully submitted,

W. E. MOORE, *Chairman.*

OUTSIDE WORK OF THE SOCIETY.

In no year of the history of the society has so much been done throughout the State to bring the work and value of the society to the attention of the citizens. This has been done by distribution of literature of the society and by lectures at various points, by visits of the officers of the society or its members at points of interest in the State and by articles in the magazines and papers, particularly those contributed by Messrs. Moorehead and Loveberry. Several of the leading magazines and many of the prominent newspapers have communicated with the society to obtain information for publication of its work or articles detailing its explorations and discoveries. The society has been formally requested by the Associated Press Bureau of New York to keep them fully posted as to the explorations of the society, so that they may report the same to all their syndicate papers.

Early in 1897 a circular was prepared setting forth the work of the society and requesting co-operation in its work. This circular was sent to some three hundred of the leading papers of the State and was most courteously received. Nearly every paper acknowledged the circular in its news columns and many favored the society with friendly editorials concerning our work.

On the evening of May 12, 1897, Colonel Robert B. Stanton, a distinguished engineer and archæologist, lectured under the auspices of the society in the auditorium of the O. S. University to a large and interested audience on the "Cliff Dwellers of the Southwest." Colonel Stanton is now engaged in making explorations and excavations in the Southwest and will report his results to the society.

Mr. Moorehead represented the society at the forty-sixth annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Detroit, August 9-14. He took with him and exhibited to the association the archæologic map of Ohio, now being prepared by our society. It elicited great interest and the work of the society in this department was highly commended by the association.

At the Franklinton Centennial, held at Columbus, the society, by request of the Centennial Committee, loaned the pioneer relics possessed by the society for the museum exhibition at the centennial.

A full account of the explorations of the society will appear in its annual publication for 1898. This work has been commended in public by such men as Prof. Putnam, of Cambridge University, and Prof. D. G. Brinton, of University of Pennsylvania. We present here a brief statement of the work in the report of Mr. Clarence Loveberry:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, December 22, 1897.

E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary:*

Sir — As Assistant Curator for the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, I was in the field from the 6th of last April until the first of September, locating and exploring mounds. In all, I located two hundred earthworks and explored ninety mounds, earthworks, graves and village sites of prehistoric man. We were very fortunate in securing the permission to explore such mounds as the Story Fair Ground mound, near Chillicothe; the Carriage Factory mound, inside the city limits of Chillicothe, and a mound within the limits of the Lakeside Camp Grounds, which are situated on the shore of Lake Erie; also the Waverly group, Pike County.

Our work for the summer began in Pickaway County, near East Ringgold, where we opened the Snake Den group. In the eastern part of that county five mounds were explored by our survey. In Ross County we met with extraordinary success in securing permission to open and explore the largest village site ever explored in Ohio, beside opening twelve mounds, one village site, three graves and one circle. Similar success crowned our efforts in Perry, Pike, Jackson, Delaware, Marion, Crawford, Wyandot, Seneca, Sandusky, Ottawa, Huron, Erie, Ashland, Richland, Licking and Knox counties, opening and exploring fifty-four mounds, four circles, twenty-six graves, three village sites, three burial groups, from which exploration we secured in all about five thousand specimens.

The most important finds were made first at the Snake Den group, in Pickaway County, in the shape of a stone box, containing five silver nuggets, and within the same enclosure two hundred geological specimens were found. Other important and valuable finds were made near Bourneville, Ross County. The large copper finds made at Waverly and the caches of chalcedony spears, found at Chillicothe, are likewise rare and valuable.

Recently two trips were made in the interest of the Society, one to Portsmouth, the other to Lancaster. At the latter place evidences were found of a prehistoric village site, on the top of Mt. Pleasant, and located two mounds on this immense mass of rock. In the southern part of Fairfield County fifty earthworks were located. Near Portsmouth, on the Ohio River, we discovered evidences of a village site twenty feet below the surface, and eighteen feet above this similar evidences of another village site were apparent. While on the surface above these village sites the soil is tilled by the white man of to-day. This is an excellent field for work, and I would predict valuable results should the Society see fit to explore that region. Of the river valleys of the State that ought to be explored, the Hocking Valley promises the best results. That valley is rich in surface finds and earthworks, and with the co-operation of the people who live in that region, and who are anxious that a survey be made through it, there is no reason why it should not be successful.

The number of earthworks located on the Ohio State Archæological map is steadily growing. With the mounds that were located during the field work, and the many located this fall through correspondence with people throughout the State who are kindly assisting us in this way, the number is assuming vast proportions.

I am pleased to report that the collections of the Society are numbered and catalogued up to date. My time has been taken up this fall with the cataloguing and rearrangement of the relics in the Society's cases according to states and counties. The number of specimens has become so large from the summer's work, and the collections that have been loaned or given us this fall, that it has been necessary to crowd them in the cases so that they do not appear as well as they would if more room were available.

Thanking the Trustees of the Society for their hearty co-operation, I am

Respectfully,

CLARENCE LOVEBERRY,
Curator.

EXCURSION TO FORT ANCIENT.

One of the most delightful events in the history of the society was the excursion to Fort Ancient on June 7. Governor and Mrs. Bushnell and many State officials accompanied the members of the society on this excursion. The party was conveyed in three cars by special train. The entire party, consisting of the members of the society and invited guests, numbered nearly a hundred. Fort Ancient was reached at 11 a. m., when a lunch was served in the hotel at station, and following the lunch addresses were made by Governor Bushnell, Prof. Edward Orton, General Brinkerhoff, and Trustee George F. Bareis. The party then visited the fort, examining its interesting construction and listening to the short and impromptu addresses by various members of the society touching the history and theories respecting these greatest preserved earthwork remains of the Mound Builders. It was a most enjoyable, profitable and unique occasion, and this excursion to the fort should become an annual feature of the society. A further account of this trip will be presented in the society's Annual.

RESIGNATION OF MR. MOOREHEAD.

On April 3, 1897, Mr. Warren K. Moorehead felt compelled to tender his resignation as one of the officers of the society, as he was about to leave for New Mexico for the benefit of his health. The society did not accept his resignation at that time but, after his return, on August 27, he again urged the acceptance of his resignation, as his duties and health were such he could not well fulfill the requirements of the office of Curator. The Trustees reluctantly accepted his resignation and at once elected him an honorary member of the society — an honor heretofore bestowed upon only four other persons. Mr. Clarence Loveberry was promoted to the Curatorship. Mr. Moorehead is now in Arizona with his family doing excellent work in the line of archæology. Though he is no longer an officer of the society, the society still expects to have more or less special assistance from him in the field of archæology. Certainly his numerous friends hope for his restoration to complete health.

PUBLICATIONS.

The society issued in August the fifth volume of its annual publication of documents and papers. This volume comprises some four hundred pages, with maps and illustrations, and is one of the most valuable yet issued by the society. Its main feature is a history of the land title to the State of Ohio, commencing with the original land charters by the English kings to the colonial companies, and tracing the abstract of title from mother country sources to the establishment of the boundary lines of the State of Ohio and the formation of the State Constitution of 1802. Another valuable document is a full and carefully prepared article on the history of the county divisions of Ohio — with maps giving the different stages of county divisions in the State. This volume also contains a full and interesting account of the work done by the society during the year in archæological research and explorations, with illustrations. The society has now published, not including the extensive report of the society's exhibit at Chicago (80 pages, 1894), five volumes of interesting, valuable matter, pertaining to Ohio, its history, biography and archæology. Most of this material has been either originally prepared or exclusively preserved by the society, and the work of the society in this line alone is sufficient reason for its being and cause for ample support by the State. These publications are in great demand by the leading historical societies and libraries, not only of the United States, but even those in Europe. These books are all in well preserved plates. Second editions have already been required of the first three volumes and the first edition of volume four has already been exhausted. It is hoped the Legislature will appreciate the value of and demand for these publications and provide for further reprints. Certainly no more important reports are issued by the State. It was decided by the trustees that the society had better issue its sixth volume in quarterly form — beginning with January. The first number comprising one hundred and thirty pages is now printed. It contains articles on Captain William Crawford, an address by Judge James H. Anderson, delivered at Upper Sandusky, addresses by General John Beatty and Colonel E. L. Taylor, at the Franklinton Centennial, Columbus, Ohio, and a most scholarly history of Education in the Western Reserve, by Prof B. A. Hinsdale.

LIBRARY AND EXCHANGES.

The society is in constant correspondence with the other State societies and the leading historical societies of the country. With all these a system of exchange of publications is established, and a large and valuable library is in this manner being accumulated—a library which can be obtained in no other way, and which will be of inestimable interest and value to all who wish to consult this class of literature. The State of Ohio has been most negligent in collecting and preserving historical material pertaining to Ohio. Our society is doing what it can to assist in accumulating an Ohio historical library.

The society's library as stated elsewhere in this report is now placed in quarters assigned for its accomodation in the Ohio State Library. Miss Bessie Smythe, a most accomplished and experienced librarian, one of the assistants of the State Library, has charge of the society's library and has made a careful and complete list of the books belonging to the society.

In accordance with the instructions of the trustees at the annual meeting (February, 1896), the Secretary, assisted by Mr. E. F. Wood, has had kept a Society Scrap Book in which are carefully preserved articles and newspaper clippings from the leading papers of the State on all subjects bearing upon the purpose and aims of the society. This scrap book has already grown to several volumes and will prove of incalculable interest and value to persons desiring data which only the current newspapers gather and record.

QUARTERS FOR THE SOCIETY.

More than ever must the Secretary urge the great necessity of the society for adequate quarters for the placing and preservation of its property, and facilities for its work. The society is very much hampered by its lack of a "local habitation." The archæological collections of the society are now located in Orton building of the Ohio State University, upon the second or gallery floor of the museum, where the University authorities have generously accorded us such space as they can spare. Much of our property is packed in boxes in the basement rooms of the same building, and in the office of the Treasurer. The State of Ohio cannot afford to ignore the wants of the Historical and Archæological Society in this matter. As has been suggested elsewhere in this report, the State Library Commission have offered us an alcove in the State Library, which we may occupy until permanent quarters are accorded us, and it is fully expected that when the new addition to the State House is built, ample quarters for our exclusive use will be provided in some excellent portion of the present building. Many valuable donations of books, documents and specimen collections are only waiting to come into the possession of the society when it has proper and safe quarters in which to preserve them. The society has grown in the value and extent of its work and in reputation until it is recognized as being in the front rank of similar State societies, and our great State cannot do otherwise than liberally promote its progress. No State surpasses Ohio for wealth of material in the line of Archæology, Biography, and History. The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society is the only State agency for the collecting and preserving of this wealth. It should be afforded every means and facility required for the full accomplishment of its purpose.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion the Secretary wishes to express the appreciation of the society for the interest and aid accorded us by Governor Bushnell and all State officials with whom the society has come in contact. And personally the Secretary wishes to thank the trustees and especially the Executive Committee for their uniform kindness and courtesy to him.

Acknowledgment is also due Dr. Edward Orton who has ever been a warm and valuable friend of the society, and for whose aid and advice the Secretary is deeply indebted.

Respectfully submitted,
E. O. Randall, *Secretary.*

Columbus, Ohio, February, 1898.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

FEBRUARY 1, 1897, TO FEBRUARY 1, 1898.

RECEIPTS.

Balance in treasury, February 1, 1897	$235 52
From State Treasury:	
Current expenses	2,089 40
Publications	887 85
Care Ft. Ancient	500 00
Field work	1,029 32
From Active members	114 00
„ Life memberships	272 00
„ Interest	36 95
„ Subscriptions	12 50
„ Rent	112 47
Total receipts	$5,290 01

EXPENDITURES.

Job printing	$26 25
Care Ft. Ancient	490 25
Expenses of Trustees	51 24
Salaries	1,426 66
Publications	886 35
Field work	1,030 32
Permanent fund	597 10
Postage	64 42
Office expenses	100 00
Lecture Robert Stanton	25 00
Press clippings	2 16
Stationery and supplies	21 45
Express and telegrams	13 67
Incidentals	5 50
Balance in treasury, February 1, 1898	549 64
Total expenditures	$5,290 01

S. S. RICKLY, *Treasurer.*

ADDRESSES BEFORE THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The public meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was held in the House of Representatives, Columbus Ohio, at eight o'clock p. m., March 3, 1898, General Brinkerhoff presiding.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL BRINKERHOFF.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—Before introducing the speakers of the evening it is proper for me, as chairman, perhaps, to say a few words in regard to the origin and purpose of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

We all know, who live in Ohio, that Ohio is a great State; the most of us believe that it is the greatest State in the Union, and some of us who have traveled widely and visited all of the states of this Union, and in all countries upon this continent—we know there is no block of land on the earth the size of Ohio so admirably fitted for the habitation of man.

Now, this fact is not of recent knowledge. It was known doubtless thousands of years before Ohio was known to the white man. Of all the states in the Union Ohio, judging from the records that we have in the relics that were left, and memorials, Ohio was appreciated as we now appreciate it by the peoples who lived thousands of years ago.

There is no State in which there are so many memorials of those ancient people as in the State of Ohio.

Now, twenty-three years ago a number of gentlemen—I think there were fifty perhaps—assembled together at Mansfield, Ohio, for the purpose of considering the subject of the preservation of the memorials of those ancient people, and at that time we organized what was then known as the Archæological Society of Ohio.

The next year, in 1876, the Ohio General Assembly gave us twenty-five hundred dollars to make an exhibit of Ohio archæology at the World's Fair in Philadelphia. Many of you, doubtless, saw this exhibit.

There is no State in the United States, perhaps—none certainly that has a more magnificent record—that has given so little attention to its own possessions as Ohio. There are collections of Ohio archæology sent to the great museums of Europe, greater than we have in all of our Ohio collections. We find them at Paris, Berlin, the British museum and in the little city of Salisbury, England. I went to Salisbury, as American tourists always do—to visit the cathedral. The next thing I did was to look up the Blackmore Museum. The Blackmore Museum is a fire-proof building, built for the express purpose of preserving and showing the archæology of the United States, and mainly it is from the State of Ohio. It is the old Squier and Davis collection.

What this Society started to do, and what it has done to some extent—was the preservation by the State itself of some of its ancient memorials. This has been the hunting ground of all the nations. Our materials have been carried away to Europe and across the sea, and we felt that it was high time that something should be done, and so we organized the Ohio Archæological Society, and made that quite a success. Then we had no place to preserve our relics until recently the Ohio State University came to our relief, and gave us room in that magnificent hall out there, known as Orton Hall.

Later on we felt that another matter must be attended to at some time, and could be connected with that Archæological Society, and that was the historical collection.

A nation does not depend for its greatness upon its wealth, or upon its antiquities so much as it does upon its men and women, and there is no State in the Union that is the peer of Ohio in its great men and women.

In this way we organized the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and it is now a State institution in part. It is governed by a board of twenty-one members, six of whom are appointed by the Governor of the State.

Well, as time went on the State of Ohio first came to our relief in a measure, and we have acquired Fort Ancient, which will be described to you to-night. Fort Ancient is one of the capitals of those ancient people, and it is a wonderful place, and Ohio now owns it, and it is cared for by the Society. Now, this is what we are attempting to do—it is to preserve Ohio archæology and care for and preserve its history. It is important that we preserve the memorials of our great men. Take our Governors, for example. What do we know about them? Take the great men of history—what do we know of them? It is within the past year that my attention was called one time to this particular thing. I was inquired of as to something in regard to Senator Morris. I didn't know who Senator Morris was; I doubt if there is a dozen people on this floor to-night that do know who Senator Morris was. I tried to get on the skirmish line of information, for I felt that I ought to know, and I went to the biographical dictionaries, but I didn't find the name of Senator Morris, and at last I was told he was from Clermont county, and Representative Ross, who is on the floor, was the first man that I found that knew anything about him. As he was from Clermont county, it occurred to me that Howe's History would tell something about him. Howe did more for the preservation of Ohio history than probably any other man. I found that Senator Morris was one of the great men of his century. There was a time when he was in the Senate of the United States from 1833 to 1839, when he was the champion of liberty upon the floor of the Senate, and I read his speech in reply to Calhoun, and there are few finer speeches that I know of in our history. It is these things in history that we want preserved by the Historical Society.

I just want to call your attention to one fact. I might take up a dozen, but I will only call your attention to one single one, and that is in the State of Wisconsin, one of the youngest children of the Northwest Territory, and with a population one-half less than the State of Ohio, with advantages that do not compare with Ohio, and yet what has she done? To-day in the capital of Wisconsin, at Madison, there is a new building which is to be dedicated this year. It is about two-thirds the size of this building. Its archæological demands are small compared with ours, but it has three stories; its library now has 108,000 volumes. Its archæological implements amount to 90,000.

Now, Ohio, with its vast opportunities, certainly ought not to be second to Wisconsin. We are going to celebrate our centennial pretty soon, and there is some talk in the newspapers I see of having a memorial building erected for that centennial, and I noticed in one of them the proposition is to make the memorial building basement the home of the Archæological and Historical Society. Why, my friends and fellow citizens, we have in sight to-day, with the collections we have on hand, enough to fill not only the basement but also a full one story of that building, and if the State of Ohio will undertake to erect a fire-proof building as large as Wisconsin's building, that is to be occupied and be the property of the State in 1903, certainly we will fill two-thirds of it, because there are thousands of collections in this State only waiting to be properly cared for when the State of Ohio is ready to take care of them.

Therefore, we do not ask for small things; it is not for ourselves that we are asking these things of the State of Ohio; it is for the generations that are to come after us. Now, the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society as now organized is prepared to control an arrangement of that kind; should the State of Ohio give us something of that kind we will care for it, and we believe that we can do so with the experience that we have had.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this in brief is the position which we occupy. The gentlemen who are to speak to you to-night are all members of our Society, and familiar with the work, and they will tell you something of the magnitude of this work.

I have the honor to introduce to you as the first speaker one who will present the importance of archæology of Ohio. The gentleman who will make this address does not require an introduction to an Ohio audience. He is known all over this State, and in his specialty he is known all over this world. I have the honor to introduce to you Professor Wright, of Oberlin College. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR WRIGHT.

Situated midway between the Atlantic and the Mississippi and between Lake Erie and the Ohio river, whose waters drain, on the one hand, into the Gulf of Mexico, and on the other into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Ohio has always been, and still remains, pre-eminent in its position upon the North American continent. The remarkable diversity of attractions which give it such power to-day in the Republic of the United States, made it also in prehistoric times the arena of most significant movements among the aboriginal inhabitants of America. In the mounds and earthworks of the prehistoric races of our State we have archæological treasures, of highest value, which stand in great need of being preserved, still further explored, and more effectively advertised.

Much has already been done in the way of preserving some of the more important earthworks. With broad-minded foresight the Legislature has purchased the site of Fort Ancient, the largest and most complicated of the prehistoric works in our country. This is situated in Warren county, near a station, upon the Little Miami railroad, bearing the name of the fortification. Here a promontory of glacial *debris*, facing the Little Miami river for a mile or more and rising from two hundred to two hundred and thirty feet above it, and protected on the other side by the deep gorge of a tributary stream, is completely surrounded along its upper edge with an earthwork that even now would be well-nigh impregnable from any force attacking it from the outside. Reckoning all its windings, this earthwork is about five miles long, though inclosing no more than one hundred and fifty acres.

Several other earthworks of special value are being cared for by private parties and local societies. The most important of these is the Serpent Mound, in the northern part of Adams county. This is situated on Brush creek, in Franklin township, about six miles north of Peebles Station on the Cincinnati and Eastern railroad, and five miles south of Sinking Springs, in Highland county. The head of the serpent rests on a rocky platform, which presents a precipitous face to the west, towards this creek, of about one hundred feet in height. The jaws of the serpent's mouth are widely extended, in the act of trying to swallow an egg, represented by an oval inclosure about one hundred feet long. This inclosure, as well as the body of the serpent, consists of a ridge of fine earth about four feet high and from ten to fifteen feet broad. The body of the serpent winds gracefully back towards higher land, making four large folds before reaching the tail. The tail tapers gracefully, and is twisted up into three complete and close coils. The whole length of the mound from the end of the egg on the precipice to the last coil of the tail on the higher land is upwards of thirteen hundred feet, or a quarter of a mile.

What was formerly supposed to be two symmetrical limbs or projections on either side of the neck prove to be, on the right a small mound of stones, perhaps for sacrificial purposes, and on the other a prominence produced by the partially rotten stump of a tree. An extensive burial-place was discovered in the vicinity of the serpent's tail. A conical mound about a hundred rods to the southeast was carefully explored, revealing, in the center at the bottom, a well-preserved skeleton with many ornaments, and two intrusive burials at subsequent times and by parties evidently ignorant of the original purpose of the mound.

A few years ago nearly six thousand dollars was raised by an association of public-spirited ladies of Boston for the purchase and repair of the Serpent Mound, and, under the personal superintendence of Professor Putnam, this mound was restored to its original position. All the dirt which had been washed down and plowed off from the summit and sides was thrown back again, and the whole seeded over. A road was made leading up the steep hill to the mound from Brush creek, and a spring-house constructed for the comfort of visitors. The park connected with the mound has been set out with a variety of trees growing in the county, and the whole has been turned over to a society for the benefit of the State, with the proviso that no charge shall ever be made for entrance to the grounds.

At Newark, also, a portion of the remarkable earthworks has been purchased by an association which utilizes the ground for a county fair, and thus is likely to protect the work from further injury. The portion thus preserved consists of a circular inclosure which is entered by a passageway one hundred and twenty feet long and eighty wide, on each side of which the embankments are fully thirty feet high, and are nowhere less than fifteen feet high. Inside the embankment there is a continuous ditch five or six feet in depth. The inclosed space is not an exact circle, but an ellipse, its diameters being twelve hundred and fifty and eleven hundred and fifty feet respectively. In the center of the area there is a low mound about seven feet in height, having somewhat the shape of a bird, with its head pointing towards the entrance of the inclosure. The length of the body of this "Eagle Mound" is one hundred and fifty-five feet; of each wing one hundred and ten feet, and the distance between the tips of the wings in a right line, two hundred feet. An excavation disclosed an altar, showing that the mound, and probably the whole inclosure, had a religious significance.

Aside from these, scarcely anything has been done in the State to preserve its prehistoric monuments from destruction; while in many most important cases the work of devastation has already gone on past repair. Even at Newark the portion preserved is only a small part of the complicated works described by the first settlers and explorers; while at Marietta and Martin's Ferry the larger part of the earthwork has been destroyed, a considerable portion of those at Marietta having been sold by the public authorities to a brickmaker, who found the material profitable for his uses. In the town of Circleville, also, the historic inclosure which gave name to the town has been razed to the ground, and the city readjusted according to modern notions of symmetry. The last time I saw the Alligator Mound at Granville, horses and cattle were stamping vigorously upon its sacred surface, and pawing up the dust, for the temporary relief it would furnish from the flies.

But notwithstanding the work of destruction, so permanent and numerous are these earthworks that the State still has great archæological treasures in store. Among the most noteworthy of these is Fort Hill, in Highland county. Fort Hill is in Brush Creek township, about eight miles north from the Serpent Mound, four or five from Sinking Spring, and nine or ten south of Bainbridge, on the Ohio Southern railroad. This region lies along the western outcrop of the Waverly sandstone, corresponding to the Berea sansdtone in the northern part of the State. These rocks dip gently towards the east, and are underlaid by thick deposits of rather soft shale. They formerly extended much farther to the west than now, but have been undermined and removed by various eroding agencies, including the ice of the glacial period—the terminal moraine passing about a mile to the northwest. These outliers of the Waverly sandstones which remain as isolated caps upon pedestals of shale, which the streams have not yet had time to wear away, are from four hundred to five hundred feet above the bed of Baker's Fork, which winds around the north and west sides of Fort Hill.

In ascending the slope of Fort Hill, it is found to be gentle for the first two hundred and fifty feet, then much steeper, until the last one hundred feet is reached, which is so steep as to be almost inaccessible. Its irregular flat top is completely isolated, and includes about forty acres of land which has been cleared and cultivated, having at one time been partly occupied by a peach orchard. A heavy forest of first-growth timber covers the sides of the hill in every direction, and their projecting leafy tops largely obstruct the view in summer. But the glimpses of the scenery from every side are among the most charming and extensive anywhere to be found in the State; looking down to the south upon the valley of Brush creek in the vicinity of the Serpent Mound.

This flat-topped summit of the hill is completely inclosed by an ancient fortification of earthworks, penetrated by numerous gateways at irregular intervals. The earthwork was formed by digging the dirt from the inside just back from the rim of the hill, and throwing it outside, so that its slope coincided with that of the summit. The ridge of earth thus formed is from ten to twenty feet high, and from twenty to forty feet broad, the ditch on the inside being everywhere visible. The minimum age of the work can be inferred from the size of the trees growing upon it. One of the stumps was certainly several hundred years old, as shown by the rings of annual growth which could still be counted a few years ago. Inside the fortification are two shallow hollow places where water could be preserved for a long time.

The purpose of this wonderful inclosure is evident. It is a fortification most admirably chosen for defense against the enemies of that time. It commanded a most extensive view in every direction, and afforded opportunity to exchange signals with other elevated points from twenty to thirty miles distant. In the fertile valley of Baker's Fork there are numerous sites of Indian villages where doubtless the people lived in times of peace, but upon proper warning Fort Hill was a refuge easily accessible, easily provisioned, and easily defended.

What signs of occupancy there may be in the inclosed area is not known, as no excavations have ever been made. But in themselves both the fortification and the situation are among the most interesting anywhere to be found in the world. The Legislature could render no greater service to the archæological and historical interests of the State than to rescue and preserve this remarkable monument of the Mound Builders as the ladies of Boston have rescued the Serpent Mound near by. The cost would be moderate, and the expense of preserving little or nothing.

In the vicinity of Portsmouth, at the mouth of the Scioto river, there is a continuous line of earthworks for a distance of eight miles up and down the Ohio valley. Two of the larger works are upon the Kentucky side, eight miles apart; the other is in Ohio, about midway between the Kentucky works, and connected with them, except where the river intervenes, by parallel lines of embankment. The width of the space between these parallel embankments is about one hundred and sixty feet, the embankments themselves being about four feet high, and twenty feet broad. Including the inclosure, there are in these works, altogether, more than twenty miles of embankment.

The lower work upon the Kentucky side is on the second terrace of the Ohio, about fifty feet above the first bottom, and about a quarter of a mile back from the river. The principal part is an exact square of eight hundred feet, containing fifteen acres, the embankment twelve feet high by thirty feet broad, rising at one place to a height of fifty feet. From opposite sides of the main square, and running parallel with the river, surrounded by embankments, two oblong rectangles project a distance of two thousand one hundred feet, and are about two hundred feet in width, inclosing ten acres each. It is difficult to tell whether these works were designed for military defense or for religious purposes.

The upper works upon the Kentucky side are, as we have said, eight miles distant, and one and one-half miles from the river. They consist of four circles, one within the other, though at irregular distance from each other, and cut at right angles by four broad avenues, resembling somewhat the works long since destroyed at Circleville, Ohio, and whose form gave name to that city. In the center of the circles is a truncated mound, four hundred and fifty feet in diameter, and twenty-two feet in height. The diameter of the entire space occupied by the circles is about one thousand three hundred feet; the height of the inclosing embankment is two or three feet.

The works upon the Ohio side are very complicated, and cannot well be described without a figure. They consist of an irregular collection of circles, semi-circles, parallels, horseshoe-shaped embankments and mounds, of which the principal one is twenty-five feet in height. It seems very improbable that either of the last two was constructed for military purposes.

Passing up the Scioto valley, which for about forty miles is, like the Ohio, a valley of erosion from one to two miles wide (and bounded by hills from three hundred to five hundred feet in height), there are no earthworks worthy of remark until reaching Piketon, twenty miles distant, where, upon a beautiful natural terrace, there is an interesting collection of mounds and squares and circles and ellipses, and other irregular figures, among which is a square within a circle, altogether covering a space about a mile long and half a mile wide. About five miles farther up the river occurs the graded way of Piketon, through which the turnpike now runs. This graded way leads from the second terrace to the third, is two hundred and fifteen feet wide, ten hundred and eighty feet long, and ascends seventeen feet. At the beginning of the grade the embankment thrown up is twenty-two feet high. After reaching the level of the third terrace, a low embankment extends for a third of a mile toward a group of mounds, one of which is thirty feet in height.

Passing up the Scioto twenty miles farther, to the vicinity of Chillicothe, in Ross county, we find ourselves again, as at Newark, upon the southern border of the extensive and fertile plains extending to the northwest for more than a thousand miles, and which were ironed into shape during the glacial period by the irresistible agency of the continental ice-sheet. Nothing can exceed the fertility and beauty of the Pickaway plains through which the Scioto river meanders as it flows southward from Circleville to Chillicothe. These plains are bounded upon the south by precipitous cliffs five hundred feet high, of subcarboniferous sandstone, the line of whose outcrop crosses the valley at this point in a direction northeast by southwest. Below Chillicothe the Scioto occupies a gorge-like valley cut out of these rocks to a depth of about five hundred feet, and to a width of about two miles. Above Chillicothe it flows through the entire distance near the surface of a continuous plain. But through all its course it is lined by two or three terraces of coarse gravel, marking the height to which floods rose when the ice of the glacial period was melting. Coming down from the northwest, Paint creek joins the Scioto near Chillicothe. Both these streams, for a distance of twelve miles or more above their junction, are characterized by extensive, impressive, complicated, and curious prehistoric earthworks. To describe them would be little more than to repeat over and over again the descriptions already given.

In Liberty township, a square and connected circle (situated upon the third terrace about eighty feet above the river) incloses upward of seventy acres. The embankments, however, are not more than four feet in height. Two miles above are the so-called High Bank works, likewise on the third terrace. These consist of an octagon containing eighteen acres, joined to a large circle containing twenty acres, with five neighboring circles each about three hundred feet in diameter, and some of them connected together with extensive parallel embankments. Numerous circles and mounds and pits likewise mark the neighborhood.

Two miles farther up, upon the opposite side of the river, is another set of works of about the same size and general character with those just described.

Five miles farther north, and four miles above Chillicothe, on the east side of the Scioto, are the celebrated Hopeton works. Here, too, is a circle inclosure of twenty acres and a square one of twenty, with three or four smaller ones adjoining, and parallel embankments one hundred and fifty feet apart extending for more than half a mile toward the river. The embankments of the square inclosure are not lined with a ditch, and are fifty feet broad at the base, twelve feet high, and wide enough at the top for a carriage road. One mile further north, on the same side of the river, are the Cedar Banks works, the main feature of which is a square inclosure with broad gateways, containing thirty-two acres. The embankments are low, and lined with ditches, and within them is an elevated square a few feet in height, and two hundred and fifty feet in length.

There are few mounds in the neighborhood of these last two works, but upon the opposite side of the river occurs what is well styled Mound City, which is a nearly square inclosure, with rounded angles, containing thirteen acres, situated on the second terrace, and whose embankment is between three and four feet high and unaccompanied with a ditch. No less than twenty-four mounds are situated within this inclosure, ranging from six to seventeen feet in height. Nearly all these have been excavated, and were found to contain altars or basins of burnt clay in the center at the bottom. These altar-basins were several feet in diameter, nine or ten inches deep, were very hard burned, were filled up even with ashes intermixed with pottery and containing copper discs. In one of the mounds there was a layer of mica and burned human bones over the center of the altar. The mounds were built up of alternate layers of sand and clayey soil, and covered with pebbles and coarse gravel. About half a mile to the south is a circular inclosure containing twenty-eight acres and an altar mound exactly in the center.

Three miles farther up, on the west side of the river, are Dunlap's works, consisting of a rhomboidal inclosure, containing thirteen acres, with a circle attached, and an avenue stretching off from the opposite corner more than a thousand feet. Near by is a cluster of mounds so near the level of the river that they are sometimes surrounded by water, one of which is so large that one time during a flood, a farmer with his family and cattle and horses, numbering in all near a hundred, took refuge upon it.

Ascending Paint creek from Chillicothe, we find a series of remarkable fortifications upon the summits of the hills lining the creek, two of which are estimated each to have upward of two miles of embankment, and to contain not far from one hundred acres; and another, near Bourneville, to contain one hundred and forty acres. Upon the North Fork of Paint, not far away, there are also works of great magnitude, one of which incloses one hundred and eleven acres, to which is attached a smaller square of sixteen acres. With the larger area are numerous smaller inclosures, one of which contains seven mounds joined together rising to a height of thirty feet. Still further up the North Fork, at Frankfort, are other extensive works.

Going back now to Chillicothe near the junction of Paint creek and the Scioto river, the tourist will see, upon the east side of the valley and about three miles distant, the chain of sandstone knobs to which we have already referred as facing the northwest. Upon the highest and most commanding of these, and nearly six hundred feet above the river valley, stands one of the relics of the Mound Builders in which it was said that human remains were found. From various places in the northeastern part of the county, from the region of the prehistoric remains about Circleville, twenty miles to the north, and from the region of all the works upon both forks of Paint creek, this knob is a conspicuous object in the landscape. Indeed from nearly all the works that we have described in the Scioto valley one would be able to see a beacon fire which should be built upon the mound that caps this knob. Other mounds extending north from Circleville form a continuous chain as far north as Columbus, suggesting their use as signal stations.

While much has already been done in the exploration and study of these remarkable prehistoric relics, much still remains to be done, and a considerable portion of that already accomplished is anything but satisfactory to the citizens of the State. The work of Mr. Atwater and of Squier and Davis, and of Colonel Whittlesey have put us in possession of most important general facts regarding these works as they presented themselves to the public in the first half of the present century. Squier and Davis made excavations in many of the mounds, and, being practically the first ones in the field, made an exceedingly valuable collection of Mound Builders' relics. But so little was this collection appreciated that there was no organization in Ohio to purchase it and keep it here. For years it was boxed up and neglected in Washington, until finally a far-sighted and enterprising archæologist from England, Mr. Blackmore, purchased it. The citizen of Ohio, therefore, if he would study the archæological wealth of his own State and understand the object of its prehistoric monuments, must go to Salisbury, Eng., and avail himself of the courtesy of the curator of the Blackmore Museum of that city.

At a later period the Smithsonian Institution of Washington industriously sent agents throughout the State who have dug into the mounds with little care and system and extracted from them whatever relics they could find and taken them to the Museum at

Washington. At the same time, but in a far more systematic way, the agents of the Peabody Museum of Harvard College have been carefully exploring a few of the mounds and earthworks and transporting the material to Cambridge, Mass., where one must go to find the record of the most accurate explorations which have yet been made. Of this work we can scarcely complain, because of the thoroughness of its character and of the fullness of the reports which are made in connection with them. Professor Putnam's explorations have been characterized by thoroughness rather than extent, and constitute the model for similar work in the future. Formerly mounds were said to have been explored when trenches had been dug through them in two directions, and the contents thus encountered removed and inspected. Now it is considered essential to the exploration of a mound that it be sliced off with great care, and every shovelful of earth examined, and every section photographed. The skeletons are now handled with much care, being first gently uncovered, and then moistened so as to harden them, when ordinarily they can be removed without fracture. The record of the excavation of the earthworks where implements, ornaments, and skeletons are found is more important than the possession of the objects themselves.

Among the most important explorations which have been made are those conducted by Mr. Warren K. Moorehead in the interests of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. His work was chiefly limited to the "Hopewell Group," in the valley of Paint creek, near Chillicothe, a region made famous by the early explorations of Squier and Davis. That they did not exhaust the field is shown by the marvelous collection which Mr. Moorehead was able, at the cost of a few thousand dollars, to bring to Chicago, and which was placed in about the middle of the Anthropological Building. In all the exploration of the mounds heretofore, no other collection from a single group of mounds can at all compare with this in the number, variety, and richness of its objects. From this single group alone, one sees most impressive evidence both of the extent of the commerce carried on by the Mound Builders, and of the high degree of skill possessed by them in the manufacture of implements and ornaments, together with the great respect which they paid to their dead.

On an altar in one of the mounds was found a large number of obsidian arrowheads and spearheads, some of which were three or four inches in length. Many of these had been cracked by the heat of the altar fire. Altogether they would probably fill a half-bushel measure. Yet the material from which these implements were made must have come from the Rocky mountain region; possibly from the Yellowstone Park: more probably from Arizona or Mexico; in any case, a distance of some two thousand miles. On another altar was found an immense number of perforated teeth of various animals, and perforated pearls of all sizes. These, too, had been charred by the altar fires, and the pearls alone would well-nigh fill a peck measure. It is not easy to tell the source from which the pearls were derived. Very likely they were obtained in the neighborhood; but numerous large shells in the collection must have come from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. There were, also, a number of large flakes of mica, a foot or more in diameter, which could have been found no nearer than North Carolina or Southern Virginia; while large numbers of copper implements and ornaments are clearly traceable to the region about Lake Superior; thus indicating a commerce as wide as the continent.

Here, as elsewhere among the mounds, the copper was hammered and not cast; but the skill of the artificers is shown in the evenness with which thin plates were hammered out, and the regularity with which circular holes had been made in them for ornamental purposes. So true are these that some experts have supposed them to have been made by Europeans, and obtained by commerce. But accurate measurements show that the circles and curves are not made by machinery, but have those minute variations characteristic of work done by the eye. Thin flakes of mica as well as the copper are carved into various ornamental forms of considerable delicacy, suggesting the use of scissors; but their manufacture is by no means impossible with the patience and rude tools at the command of primitive man.

Among the forms of ornament into which the copper was worked is what is called the Swastika cross—a form never before discovered here and said to be characteristic of very early times. It much resembles two "Z's" crossing each other at right angles, with their projections turning the same way. Some of these crosses from the Hopewell Group were three inches in length, made from sheets of copper no thicker than thin cardboard.

The mounds in this group scattered over an area of about one hundred acres varied largely in the archæological objects of interest contained in them. In one of them there were eight thousand flint disks, averaging about three inches in diameter, made from the material of the immediate vicinity. These were not finished implements, but appeared to be partially wrought material which had been cached ready for reworking, or perhaps for exchange in foreign trade. In this single mound the quantity of flint disks was so great that they made a full four-horse wagonload.

In these discoveries while there is nothing to indicate what we should call a high state of civilization among the primitive inhabitants of America, there is certainly evidence of great perseverance and geographical knowledge, enabling them to execute long journeys for the purpose of obtaining the objects which they prized, and of great skill, enabling them, with the rudest of tools, to fashion ornaments and objects of considerable beauty, representing the forms of animals quite creditably.

But all these treasures have gone to Chicago, and are now in the possession of the Field Museum of that city. To the patriotic citizen of Ohio all this must be exceedingly trying when it is fully brought to his notice. But he may be partly consoled by the fact that the field of exploration in his State is not by any means exhausted. Probably there are still remaining treasures as great as any which have already been obtained, and it is possible still to build up here a museum of Mound Builders' relics as instructive as would be that of all the other collections of such relics put together. But to accomplish this work, systematic, intelligent, and persistent effort must be put forth. No line of effort would seem to be more pertinent to the mission of the State University than this. It would seem that through some organic connection of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society with the Ohio State University this work might be accomplished, and that appropriations might be asked for from time to time to be expended through the agents of the State who control the university for the prosecution of further exploration and the gradual enlargement of a prehistoric museum which shall be the property of the State preserved at its political center and open to the ready inspection of all its citizens. Were the collections of Ohio material which are now scattered in the various museums at Salisbury, England, Cambridge, Mass., Washington, D. C., and Chicago, Ill., collected into one in Columbus, the attraction which it would furnish to antiquarians and tourists would draw to our State visitors enough to reward us pecuniarily many times over for the expenditure which would originally have been necessary. It is probably not too late to build up such a museum from the treasures yet remaining within our borders.

In France the observant traveler cannot fail to notice the uses which are made of local history in arousing patriotic sentiment of young and old alike. Ohio possesses peculiar opportunities for thus appealing to the higher sentiments of its citizens. The history of the pioneers of the present population is in every respect interesting and thrilling. The movements which are now going on with such marvelous rapidity in the development of our vast and varied resources are among the most important in the world. These movements are related most intimately, not only to the natural provisions which a bountiful Providence has made, whereby we possess a greater variety of natural resources than any other State in the Union, nor wholly by the remarkable relation which our territory sustains to the foreordained routes of commerce which were established when the Ohio channeled its rocky course along our southern border, and the ice of the glacial period dammed up the outlets to Lake Erie, and prepared it to be the highway between the East and the West, but also in the varied character of the population which first sought our borders, and laid the foundations of that remarkable variety of intellectual, industrial, social, and religious development which characterizes our commonwealth, and makes the people of Ohio pre-eminent both in producing and selecting the chief magistrates of the Nation. It is not by chance that Ohio can now properly be styled the "Mother of Presidents." The work of a State Historical Society which shall rake out the history of the State from the dust-heaps that have already accumulated during the first century of our present development, and shall keep it before the minds of the rising generation, performs a noble service which the Legislature does well to recognize and to aid.

For these relics of prehistoric time in which our State so notably abounds cannot be disregarded without great loss of opportunity. Man does not live by bread alone. There are subtle ties of more than sentimental interest which bind us to the whole human race, and which make the simplest relics of man's past work instructive and impressive. Through these most remarkable relics of the Mound Builders to which our attention has been directed we receive impressions concerning the significance of life and the relative value of the ends which we choose as the mainspring of our activity which we cannot afford to lose. Our children should be more thoroughly instructed as to the character and importance of the prehistoric remains which render their State attractive to historians and men of science the world over. Instead of having their thoughts turned to Egypt and Babylon as the only centers of early civilization worth noticing, their attention may well be directed first to the remarkable inclosures and symbolical monuments of Ohio, which speak so eloquently of a departed and long lost phase of human history enacted within our own borders.

The citizens of Ohio need in this respect to magnify their calling. I know of nothing that could be of greater interst to our citizens than to spend a due proportion of the time and money usually devoted to recreation outside our bounds in visiting the prehistoric relics of their own State. Excursions within our State can be planned that will be comparatively inexpensive and that will combine instruction, entertainment, and recreation to a remarkable extent. Such a comprehensive excursion, setting out from Columbus, might be about as follows: Going southward down the valley of the Little Miami, Fort Ancient would be reached in a two hours' ride; thence by two routes two or three hours' ride to the eastward would bring the tourist to within easy reach of the Serpent Mound and Fort Hill and to the remarkable collections of mounds and earthworks in the valley of Paint creek and the Scioto near Chillicothe. From here the ride to Piketon and Portsmouth and the great variety of earthworks in their vicinity is short and easy. From here, also, Circleville and Newark and Granville are within easy reach. Thus within a radius of less than a hundred miles the most remarkable combination of prehistoric relics existing anywhere in the world can be brought within reach of the inspection of any one who visits our capital city. It is not too much to hope that through wise and persistent effort these great historic and archæological treasures may be brought to the adequate notice both of our own citizens and of the outside world and may prove, as they are able to do, an attraction to outside tourists and an inspiration to all who live and are educated within our borders.

Gen. Brinkerhoff: We have with us to-night one who will tell us of Fort Ancient—Prof. Orton, of the University of Ohio. Professor Orton needs no introduction to this audience. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR ORTON.

Some years ago I stopped from a railroad train at Harper's Ferry for a few hours. The colored porter who took me in hand to pilot me to the hotel did not seem to make out my business quite satisfactorily to himself. He was not altogether clear as to what particular line of commercial activity I should be referred. He skirmished around the subject for a time (I use a military figure, you will observe, in harmony with the traditions of the place), but after learning that I had no trunk nor even a sample case to be brought over, that I was not a railroad man, that I did not represent a coal company, that I did not need a "rig" from the livery stable for the next day, he finally fired a question at me point blank (this is another military figure, you will observe, suggested also by the locality), I say he fired a question point blank, but this statement should be qualified somewhat. At any rate he asked me about as directly as the natural politeness of his race and the standards of his profession would allow, what I had come to Harper's Ferry for, anyhow.

I answered with equal directness, but not, I confess, with equal brevity. I said to him that I had heard of Harper's Ferry for a long time—that a great many things had happened there that had gone into history, and that on this account I desired to see the place for myself so as to get original and first-hand impressions of its situation and natural features.

As we walked on I felt conscious that by my frank confession of so trivial a motive for visiting Harper's Ferry I had lost standing to some extent with my guide, which I might have maintained by a wise and mysterious reticence. But after a little the porter's pride in his own town and his professional interest in the stranger that was within its gates, began to assert themselves, and he magnanimously came to my relief. "Yes," he remarked with due deliberation, "a powerful sight of things have happened in Harper's Ferry. Yes, sir," he continued, with rising enthusiasm, "Harper's Ferry is about as histerical a place as there is in the whole country."

I feel certain that if my quondam friend had been familiar with the facts in Ohio, he would have been willing to extend his classification to Fort Ancient. He would have been willing to style Fort Ancient a histerical place, and I suspect that he would be well satisfied in finding that it belonged to the "Histerical Society."

Now, there are some particular events that have taken place in Harper's Ferry, to which the porter's word or a severer one could well enough be applied, and I should not strenuously insist upon a different pronunciation of the word so far as certain speculations and theories that I have frequently heard regarding Fort Ancient are concerned. In this list I should include the "yarns" about underground passages beneath the fort, the "traditions," as they were euphemistically called, of stores of precious metals hidden within the walls, the claim of tablets discovered "there or thereabouts," containing written though still undeciphered records as to its past, the notion that the two forts were intended as a map of the land masses of the western continent, namely, of North and South America, also the view that the long walls contracting at the gateway were meant to represent two great serpents in mortal conflict. No injustice, I think, is done to these and similar views in calling them hysterical.

But there is after all a historical side, and to this I ask your attention for a few minutes at this time. The history that is to be found at Fort Ancient is not of the conventional sort; it is not based on written records of any kind; no traditions of the builders of the fort, of the purposes that led to its construction, of the uses to which it was put, nor of the events that led to its complete and final abandonment, have come down to us by word of mouth from father to son through successive generations. In this last way much has been learned as to the early fortunes of the race. Our hold upon the past has been kept alive in many parts of the world by tradition alone. Of course there is always danger that tradition will become blended with myth and so lose its historical character, but after all it has proved one of our main sources of information as to the past. But in regard to Fort Ancient, history, in the ordinary signification of the term, is as silent as the grave. We have absolutely no clues of the usual kind. We are thrown back entirely on conclusions and deductions of another sort. The latter do not give us as minute and circumstantial accounts as the usual order of historical records; but they are not less certain than such records; on the contrary they are far more trustworthy. When we build on what men say of themselves and their friends, and particularly on what they say of their enemies, we can never be entirely sure that we are getting the plain unvarnished truth. The commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness," was given to the world a long while ago, but it was not given until it was needed. The fact of bearing false witness goes back, according to the account in Genesis, to the second man, while even the first one seems to have come pretty near the line.

But what we learn from incidental facts, for example from the work done by the founders of Fort Ancient, wholly free from any accounts of their own, we can rely upon with the same confidence with which we accept the conclusions of science. This is the kind of foundation upon which solid conclusions are based.

What we learn thus in regard to Fort Ancient may not go very far toward answering the questions that our human curiosity raises and urges, but all that we do get we are sure of.

1. The first point that I make is that the builders of Fort Ancient selected the site for their work with a wide and accurate knowledge of this part of the country.

You all know of the picturesque location, in the beautiful and fertile valley of the Little Miami, on the table-land that bounds and in places almost overhangs the river, and which is from two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet above the river level.

Availing themselves of spurs of the old table-land which were almost entirely cut off by gorges tributary to the river, they ran their earth walls with infinite toil in a tortuous, crenulated line along the margins of the declivities. Where the latter were sharp and precipitous the earth walls were left lighter. Where it became necessary to cross the table-land, or where the slopes were gradual, the walls were made especially high and strong. The eye and brain of a military engineer, a Vauban of the olden time, is clearly seen in all this. We cannot be mistaken in regard to it when we thus find the weak places made strong, and the strong places left as far as possible to their own natural defences. The openings from the fort, also, lead out in every case to points easily made defensible and that command views from several directions.

The location itself cannot be duplicated along this beautiful valley. I do not assert this with full enough knowledge of the facts to make my statement authoritative, but this is my firm belief, based on a considerable knowledge of the topography of the entire region.

Now, think for a moment of what such knowledge stands for. America is the forest continent, and until three or four hundred years ago all its surface from the Atlantic to the Mississippi was covered with a dense and tangled growth of trees and underbrush. Roosevelt says of it in his "Winning of the West" "There were no openings to break the continuity of the forest, nothing but endless league on league of shadowy, wolf-haunted woodland. The great trees towered aloft till their separate heads were lost in the mass of the foliage above, and rank underbrush choked the spaces between the trunks. The sunlight could not penetrate the roofed archway, and through the gray aisles of the forest, men walked in a kind of midday gloaming. All the land was shrouded in one vast forest. It covered the mountain (and the upland) from crest to river bed; filled the plains and stretched in sombre and melancholy wastes away on every side."

The roads were in the main buffalo trails worn deep and wide into the soil. Occasionally the sunlight was let into little plots of cleared and cultivated land or of natural glades, and footpaths doubtless followed many of the river courses.

This must have been the condition of things when the Mound Builders studied the country with reference to the selection and construction of a great stronghold. It was a remarkable thing for them to find in this forest-covered land the most natural and easily-defended spot along the valley which was their home, but they got just this, and they proceeded to fortify it with the best of judgment and with all available skill. No one can withhold his admiration at the present day as he marks on every hand the signs of wise forethought and design on the part of the builders of Fort Ancient.

2. In the second place we cannot be mistaken in seeing in the work of Fort Ancient striking evidences of an organized society, of intelligent leadership, in a word, of a strong government. A vast deal of labor was done here and it was done methodically, systematically and with continuity. Here again you must think of the conditions under which the work was accomplished. There were no beasts of burden to share the labors of their owners; the work was all done by human muscles. Baskets full of earth, each containing from a peck to a half bushel, borne on the backs of men or women, slowly built up these walls, which are about five miles in length and which have a maximum height of not less than twenty feet. Reduced to more familiar measurements the earth used in the walls was about 172,000,000 cubic feet.

But not only were the Mound Builders without the aid of domestic animals of any sort, but they were also without the service of metals. They had no tools of iron; all the picks, hoes and spades that they used were made from chipped flints, and mussel shells from the river must have done the duty of shovels and scrapers. In short, not only was the labor severe and vast, but it was all done in the hardest way.

Can we be wrong in further concluding that this work was done under a strong and efficient government? Men have always shown that they do not love hard work, and yet hard work was done persistently here. Are there not evidences on the face of the facts that they were held to their tasks by some strong control?

Certainly there are no signs of change of administration during the progress of the work. I have heard that the "cheese box", as it is sometimes profanely called, that crowns the noble building in which we are now assembled, was not a part of the original design of the architect that drew the plans of the Capitol; he had something else in mind, and possibly something more congruous with the Doric style which he had adopted in the main structure; but with a change of administration a new architect was appointed and the old plans were withdrawn by their author and owner, and the present state of things resulted.

At any rate it seems to me that the solid walls of Fort Ancient stand for "municipal ownership", or for something equally good. They have not any of the earmarks of work done by a syndicate that spends as little as the law will demand upon its contracts.

3. In the third place you will expect a word as to the date of Fort Ancient. When was it built? How long was it occupied? When was it finally abandoned? It is built on a noble outcrop of Lower Silurian limestone. Nowhere in the world, so far as geologists know, is there a finer showing of the life of the seas of this early age than in southwestern Ohio, and nowhere in southwestern Ohio is there a better exhibition of this wonderful creation than in the immediate vicinity of Fort Ancient. These hills are classical ground for the geologists of all lands. Now, compared with the time used in building up the successive sheets of limestone from the waste of paleozoic life, Fort Ancient does not in reality deserve its name. It is but of yesterday, and its specific name is ridiculously inappropriate; but leaving this point of view, and considering how men count time in the new world, where a town of a hundred years is an old one, where a great State like Ohio is just beginning to make preparations for its first centennial, where four hundred years carry us back to the very beginning of the present order, we need not make special complaint as to the designation of the fort. It was undoubtedly built a few hundred years ago; a thousand years was suggested by General Brinkerhoff in his introductory remarks, and a thousand years is an estimate accepted by many. Two or three thousand years, which have been assigned by others, seem to be "hysterical" rather than historical. The first President Harrison, who was a keen observer and a sagacious woodsman as well, noted the fact that the mounds of Ohio gave clear indications of a change in the character of the tree vegetation since they were built. A certain growth of forest

trees covered these mounds originally; these trees attained full size and great age, but at last they died and their places were taken by a forest growth of different character. These, too, have passed away. A history like this could easily use up three or four, or half a dozen centuries.

There is also a freshness in the earth walls that does not seem consistent with periods like millenniums, though it must be confessed that when a surface is grass-covered it is fairly protected from waste by superficial erosion, and the ages may come and go without leaving any clear trace behind.

One thing is, however, clear. The word *prehistoric* does not stand for the same thing in different parts of the world. Fort Ancient is certainly prehistoric for us, but archæologists have recently found in the ruins of the ancient city of Nippur reason to believe that its historical records go back to at least 7,000 years before the Christian era. Prehistoric events at Nippur would necessarily be long antecedent to the beginnings of its history. Prehistoric is one thing in America and another thing in the old world, so far as measurements of intervals are concerned.

I have endeavored to show you how little I know about Fort Ancient. Our honorable Secretary has obliged me to use two occasions for this purpose during the present year. "Insatiate archer, would not *one* suffice?"

Before closing, I desire to congratulate the State and the Society on the public ownership of Fort Ancient. The two most interesting and important prehistoric earthworks of Ohio and the Mississippi valley, are now happily safe from neglect and vandal-like destruction. These works are the Great Serpent Mound of Adams county, and Fort Ancient, of Warren county. The Serpent Mound is owned by an eastern archæological society; but Fort Ancient, by far the most interesting and impressive of the two, is owned by the State, and is fortunately under the control of this Society. There are a few other works of the same general character that ought to belong to the public, but perhaps county and local organizations can do what is necessary to protect most of these.

For myself I hope the time will soon come when the foreign society will transfer the control of the Great Serpent Mound to the Archæological Society of Ohio, and I believe that the care and thrift now displayed in the case of Fort Ancient will help to bring about such a desirable result.

Gen. Brinkerhoff: One of the best friends of the Society, who has been helpful to us in many ways, is the gentleman who will address you to-night on the historical part of our Association, and I take pleasure in introducing to you President Canfield, of the Ohio State University. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT CANFIELD.*

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—The natural attitude of man is in close contact with his fellow man. The normal condition is that which is sometimes called gregarious. We hardly know, perhaps, just what we mean by that term. It is susceptible of more than one definition, and certainly of more than one form of application. It marks the constant tendency of man to come into closer and more intimate relations with his fellow man. Every rail that is set, every tie that is placed, every hammer that is rung upon every spike, every wheel that is turned, every sail that is filled with favoring breeze, accomplishes this result. All the great inventions of the last part of the greatest century of invention, have been out along this line. Nearly everything that we have striven to accomplish, nearly everything that is even yet novel and strange to us along the line of organizing the forces of earth and air, seems to have been started and quickened into life, and to have been more successful, because of the determination of man to reach his fellow man as he has never reached him before, and to touch his fellow man as he has never touched him before. Seclusiveness, like exclusiveness, is not the natural, normal, intelligent condition of human existence. He who stands absolutely alone, isolated, is weak in every sense of the word. His horizon is limited, his outlook is narrow. No matter how large or important his own particular business or occupation may seem, still it is an exceedingly narrow form of life, and hardly worth the living. If he extends this contact and this relationship, and passes entirely outside of that which is really isolation, he must extend it considerably before we will admit that he is living as man ought to live, and as man desires to live. Many of us are not willing to believe that this circle should be limited even to the number of four hundred; asserting that he who would do the most good must go far beyond that exclusive circle before he can know and appreciate and look out upon the world as it was intended that man should look out upon the world.

---

*Stenographer's report.

That which man seeks in his contact with his fellow man is the strength and helpful inspiration which comes from that contact. Man moves forward more rapidly, more surely, to a more definite to a more helpful and satisfactory conclusion of all his efforts, of all his purposes and aims, when he moves side by side, elbow to elbow, with his fellow man.

Now, the object of all sound training, of all education—and I use the term as inclusive of all that has reference to man outside of his individual self, and that gives him this larger outlook—the object of all this sound training is to bring man into this wise and helpful contact with his fellow man. If a man is not so educated that in a certain sense he can stand outside of himself, and see himself in his proper relations to his fellows, he is not well educated at all—education has fallen far short of its very purpose; and man does not come to a clear understanding of where he is in the world. If he has not perceptive sense keen enough to see the weakness of this isolation, if he does not come to recognize himself the importance of a more general outlook upon the world, then education has failed very largely of its purpose. If education is something that he is to take simply to himself, to feed upon for his own gratification, if education is to make him more a recluse than before, if it is something that he has to take with him to the closet, if it is something which tempts him to withdraw from the world, education is sadly deficient. There was a time when education was in the closet, when education was in cap and gown, and "kept itself unspotted from the world," and that was thought to be the cleanest, whitest soul that kept himself remote from his brothers; but to-day, in our day, education has come out of the seclusion of the cloister, it is without cap or gown; to-day it is in its shirt sleeves in the mart, it stands at the bench and at the forge and anvil, it is where it may be most helpful and encouraging to man. That is exactly the result of wise and sound training; to bring all men into this knowledge of the higher life; that is, the life of all, the common life. This expands men by taking them out of themselves, and so widens their horizon and so deepens their interest in their fellow men that they may fairly and wisely meet the conditions under which they exist.

Therefore it happens that we turn in more than one direction. We are not content to stop with our locality; we look north, south, east and west. We are anxious to know something of the past as well as of the present. Experience will not be very much of a guide to us without more or less of the somewhat remote past mingled with our own history. We are not looking upon history with mere curiosity; neither from mere inquisitiveness, nor with simply a spirit of selfish acquisitiveness. There is an innate recognition on our part that there is something in this larger outlook and in this more complete and higher contact, that is to give us inspiration and power. So we are not willing to stop here—with to-day; we are not willing to stop with yesterday; we desire to go just as far back as we can in order that out of even the most remote past we may gather wisdom and strength that may be of assistance to us in the present. We are not willing to be confined to the limits of the community in which we live. We desire to reach out upon either side; we desire to understand the lives and languages of communities, of peoples, far different from those which we have immediately about us. We go about this when we study history, as we call it, because of the interest that we feel in our fellow man—as being of far more interest to us than things.

It is a little strange that even in this age of scientific inquiry, that which we seem to gather from the investigation of things after all comes around on its highest and better side, on its stronger side, to things which affect man. We are not willing to stop with the consideration of geological specimens, of the strata of rock, or that history which lies back of it; we are anxious to understand in some way what, if anything, these meant to those who preceded us, and what they mean for us to-day. We find ourselves driven continually and irresistibly toward the consideration of what geology may tell us that is most helpful in modern life. So in nearly every science—I will not stop to dwell upon this—so in nearly every science, no matter what it may be, we come around continually from the facts or principles which we started to find, to this question of relationship again. It seems almost inevitable; it seems to be imperative. This it is which gives us the deepest interest in history. I think it is Bacon who says the study of history makes us wise. It makes us wise because of the depth and breadth of it. We cannot take hold of it without strengthening ourselves; without having developed in us insight and power and philosophic temper; without being compelled continually to deal in comparisons, and through comparisons to seek results which again we continually apply to ourselves and our lives, communally, individually, to-day.

The true object of all study of history is to develop a broad and intelligent human sympathy. I cannot believe that it is simply to acquire a fund of information. It does not seem possible that the object of history is to know certain things that are already in the past, certain experiences that may be quite remotely in the past—to master them simply in chronological order and in classified relations. I know that in years past we have considered history as pretty largely a matter of dates; but something besides this is desirable. We are not Arabs, and therefore a diet of dates is neither comforting nor satisfying. We are not made that way—we are not of that people. We want something more than this skeleton, this series of pegs upon which certain events are hung. We are not quite satisfied with history unless it is a part of a chain the end of which is within our grasp, part of a line of action the results of which are felt to-day. A history of the past which does not come down to the present seems dead. If in developing one we come in touch with the other, then we feel that we have touched a part of that which though past is of infinite value to us.

I cannot understand that there is any live history that does not come down to us in that way. A history of the past which is absolutely cut off from us, which does not reach or touch us in any way whatever, seems to me to be dry and dead, covered with the dust of antiquity which it is not wise to disturb. There is no sign of fertility in any such soil as that, under any circumstances whatever. We must bring ourselves in such relations to the remote past, as well as to the history that is immediately prior to our own time, that we can understand all the conditions of to-day as the outgrowth of yesterday. And to understand wisely and well, accurately and thoroughly, the conditions of to-day, we must understand the conditions of a hundred years ago—upon precisely the same principle that Dr. Holmes said, "If you wish to know about a boy, turn back to his great-grandfather." We must recognize that the roots of the present are all in the past. When we can bring ourselves into this state of mind, and into intelligent comprehension of the inner and outer relations of all history to the present, then all history becomes illuminated, filled with light, filled with interest, filled with philanthropy in the very best sense of the word.

He who runs the race of life simply upon the best of his casual understanding, simply upon what he thinks that he happens to know, will surely come to grief. He needs to have recourse to an armory that is filled to overflowing with weapons that have been forged in the experiences of the past. He needs the comfort and the consolation and the strength that will only come from being reasonably sure of success because he is reasonably assured of all that the past has accomplished in this same line, and reasonably positive that there still remains something to be gained, something to be taken to himself from that which was only begun in the long ago. The student, therefore, must touch the past, and he must touch it directly. It is that which has led us in these later years to the laboratory methods in history. We are not content, to-day, to take history second-hand any further than we are positively obliged to do so. We do not care very much, if at all, what A, B or C may tell us of the results, for instance, of what was done on such a day in Congress. We go back to the Congressional Record, we read as long as time will permit, we live over again that part of the past, that little scene in history. If we thus touch it ourselves we feel that it lives in a new light, with a new life.

So in our schools we are endeavoring to turn the student back to original documents, to original papers, correspondence, reports, products of the age in which the subject was new, was touched for the first time; speeches, reports of the action of the government, of public and private matters, as recorded in their own day. We understand, of course, the difficulty that comes in connection with such work as this. There is necessarily a vast deal of indefinite hearsay and of uncertainty of result when we undertake to go to the source, to the very source, of history, and to determine exactly what history is. If we go back to the days of some public excitement, say to the days of the anti-slavery conflict, we find that in the heat of that strife the words of men, their passionate denunciations, are far from satisfactory. All that was written or printed was tinged by the heat and fervor of the day. But if you wait until after years for action, how will you do better, how will you be more accurate? Really, you will be less sure as you drift away from the day of the conflict. That is true of almost any epoch. Whether it be a great question like the question of slavery, or whether it be a minor matter, political, social or economic; we hold it is infinitely wiser that we go back, and in calm judgment weigh well the evidence, and undertake to determine each for himself, as far as possible, exactly what was accomplished then; how much of it necessarily tarried with that time; how much of it may come down to us to-day; what there is in it stimulating and nourishing for us. In all matters, therefore, it is wise and it is safe, for the young people of our colleges, under proper guidance, to go as far back as possible in order to get that wide outlook, to determine exactly what history means for us.

The historical spirit is that spirit which is able to weigh carefully; to test carefully; to examine thoroughly and patiently; to gather up much evidence about even a comparatively small matter. I recollect very well indeed that a careful, accurate man, one of the best of modern historians, said to me once, "There is a sentence that contains exactly twenty-three words. I was exactly twenty-one days in looking up, with the utmost care and patience, the matter which I have stated in that single sentence." The historical spirit is the spirit which is judicial, and the judicial temper and the judicial spirit is a temper and spirit very wise to entertain. The historical spirit is the spirit that is accurate in its investigation; that is patient; that is judicial and fair. It is the spirit which leads a man not to be satisfied with "more or less", but always stating how much more or how much less—which makes him willing to wait, it may be even for years, until there is a final disclosure that settles and confirms the judgment—willing to abide patiently, most patiently; to turn page after page of the manuscript which seems to hold nothing, if only in the end to find in a flash of light, illuminating every letter and word, that for which he has been struggling.

Now the relation which a society like this Historical Society bears to such work is an important one. Here is this great State, following close upon the heels of a greater territory; the first State to be carved out of this great Northwest Territory; full of magnificent material; crowned from the start with wonderful enthusiasm; with a people carefully selected from the very best of New England and the Old Dominion; the gateway to all that has since come to us in all this Northwest Territory—the beginnings of some of the most superb history that has been written on this continent. Here is this great State of ours, standing at the doorway of the great West; holding within its grasp a record that is probably more complete, more intense in its interest, more fruitful in the results which would follow a careful study of its history, than the record of almost any other State in the Union; and the only definitely recognized and definitely organized association that is taking hold of these materials and undertaking to preserve them in proper form, and place them within reach of those who know how to study them, is the Historical and Archæological Association. What organization, then, can more readily demand or more easily win the interest and confidence of the people of the State? What organization can more readily acquit itself under any form of recognition by the Legislature of the State? What organization can come before the people of the State and show better results of wise investment by them than can this organization, for every penny that has been granted to it?

I rejoiced to-night, when I heard mention made of the work done in Madison, Wisconsin. I remember that the greatest results of that work came when the State Historical Society joined hands with the State University; which there as here is not simply a place for instruction, but is the habitation of men specially trained along all the lines of intelligent, helpful life, and brought together for the purpose of research and investigation. When the Historical Society of Wisconsin finally touched hands with the University of Wisconsin, then was planned this wonderful building to which reference was made, and then it was the Legislature granted more than $400,000 to begin the work—and no one knows exactly where it will end. The Wisconsin people are satisfied that the results will be commensurate, and absolutely commensurate, with the appropriations.

The historical spirit in this State ought to center at the University. This ought to be recognized as the Mecca to which should turn all those who are possessed of the desire to know something more, and more accurately and intelligently, of our own past. There should be the great collections of archæology and history; there should be the great libraries which you will collect from time to time; all of which would be more helpfully and more intelligently used there than they could possibly be used elsewhere in the State. There are a thousand young men and women there to-day; there will be two thousand in a few years; by the time we celebrate the centennial of Ohio there will be three thousand. There are thousands of most intelligent visitors every year; we have just the body of men to wisely use such collections; and what more favorable site could there be for the proper development and use of the collections that may be made by this organization that is here represented to-night?

I do not ask that this union shall take place in the interest of the University. I know full well that the work of the organization will go on, and will go on successfully, whether this union takes place or not. I am not suggesting union from the standpoint of the university. As clearly as I understand the value of all this to the University as a university, I am simply trying to bring to your minds if I may, in these few moments to-night, the broader and more intelligent thought of what we might do if we should recognize the power, the united power, of two such institutions working along this common line.

If this State is to have the future that I believe lies within its easy grasp, it will only come to us because we shall have a wise and true and full and intelligent knowledge of our own past. It is impossible that there shall be a just and necessary interest in carrying out successfully the earlier aims and purposes of the fathers, if we do not know or understand the earlier life and work of the fathers. They came into Ohio when privation was the rule; they endured that which to-day would seem to us discouraging, absolutely unbearable. But each one of them, men and women, worked on without being conscious perhaps of all the work that was being done; each built his own part of the wall in front of his own door, and hardly knew when the work was done, when the city was safe from all its enemies.

That work cannot be carried on, all that we hope for cannot be secured, unless we manage in some way to take new heart and courage from a large and definite knowledge of all that was hoped for in the past. With a definite understanding of the length and breadth and depth and strength of the foundations—then we will be enabled to build upon them better even than the fathers knew or dreamed.